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Contents

	Page
1. An Emic Critique of Austine Waddell's <i>Buddhism and Lamaism of Tibet – A Gross Misrepresentation of the Vajrayana of Tibet</i> <i>Sridhar Rana</i>	123–154
2. Language Politics in Nepal <i>Ram Kumar Dahal</i>	155–190
3. Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā in the 1980s: Mādhava Ghimire's Śakuntalā Gīti-Naṭaka <i>Manfred G. Treu</i>	191–199
4. A Note on Some Typical Architectural Designs of Western Nepal <i>Dilli Raj Sharma</i>	201–217
5. The Function and Meaning of Combs in the Newar Culture (Nepal) <i>Sushila Manandhar Fischer</i>	219–244
6. Jesthavarna Māhāvihāra of Lalitpur: History and Evolution <i>Ranjana Bajracharya</i>	245–258
7. Protest Poetry: The Voice of Conscience <i>Ananda P. Shrestha</i>	259–267
8. ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको निधन र भीमसेन थापाको अवसान <i>गंगा कर्मचार्य (हाडा)</i>	269–282
Book Review	
9. Michael Vinding: <i>The Thakali: A Himalayan Ethnography</i> <i>Dilli R. Dahal</i>	283–288
10. Gunanidhi Sharma, Nav R. Kanel and Neelam Kumar Sharma, eds. <i>Nepal: Missing Elements in the Development Thinking</i> <i>Ananda P. Shrestha</i>	289–291

AN EMIC CRITIQUE OF AUSTINE WADDELL'S BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM OF TIBET – A GROSS MISREPRESENTATION OF THE VAJRAYANA OF TIBET

Sridhar Rana

In this review I would like to make the general Nepalese scholars aware that *Buddhism and Lamaism of Tibet* by Austine Waddell cannot and should not be taken as an authoritative book of "Tibetan Buddhism" (as it is well known as) but which I call Vajrayana of Tibet. There are literally thousands of mistakes, wrong information, misinterpretations and perhaps even deliberate distortions in this book. We cannot possibly take the whole book in this review but I would take the preface and the first 75 pages, which will give an idea of the whole book.

Before I take them up page by page, a little background seems necessary. First of all, Waddell was a son of a clergy (a Christian missionary). At the time when Waddell wrote (1894), Christian clergies studied and wrote on other religious systems to show to the world how other religious systems were inferior to Christianity; and how all other religious systems except Christianity were a form of devil worship or sorcery. We must keep in mind that Waddell being a son of a Christian missionary had this blinder on when he wrote about his "Lamaism of Tibet". Secondly, he wrote over a 100 years ago when even general information about Buddhism was minimal, what to speak of the Buddhism in Tibet. At that time the Anglo-German school of Buddhist studies was the dominant school related to Buddhist studies. And the conclusions of this school were based solely on Pali texts and Theravada Buddhism, which was more easily available to the English colonials and thus to the English scholars like Waddell. So his views are also heavily influenced by the views of the Anglo-German school (in XIII he has mentioned Rhys Davids, Oldenberg and Beal, all of Anglo-German school (Joshi 1983: 1). The basic view of this school of Buddhist scholars was that only the Pali

tradition as represented by the Theravadins was the true form of Buddhism and all other forms of Buddhism were distortions or adulterated. This notion has been proven inaccurate and misleading in the last 100 years of scholarship; but I would not deal with it here. Furthermore, Waddell has not distinguished between High religion and Folk religion, which are found in all religious traditions. Thus, he has mixed them up in one single pot-pouri, which only confuses the issue rather than clarifies it. Even today, if Waddell were to interview even educated Hindus of the Kathmandu valley, and ask them what their religion's main scripture was, he would more likely than not get the answer, "Our Veda is the Srimad Bhagavat", or something like that, very few would actually mention Rig Veda/Sama Veda/Yajur Veda or Atharva Veda. If further asked, "Do you believe in Sankaracharya?", he would get the reply, "Yes, he was one of our greatest saints and I agree to everything he says, which Hindu would not?" I'm quite sure many scholars of Hindu background would completely agree to the above statement. But if Waddell were to ask this educated Kathmanduite, "But in his Sarirak Bhasya of the Brahma Sutra, Sri Sankaracharya has refuted the Bhagavata philosophy as being against the Vedic system (2.2.42). So how can you both agree with Sri Sankaracharya and the Srimad Bhagavata with the same breath? And furthermore, in the light of Sankara's refutation of the Bhagavata philosophy how can you even give it the status of a Veda?" The educated Hindu would be completely non-plussed to say the least. We are not talking here of uneducated country folks. So should Waddell write that the Veda of the Hindus is the Srimad Bhagavata? This is the type of mistake he has made about his "Lamaism".

He also never came in contact with proper Rinpoches/Geshes/Khenpos who are the really qualified people to interpret Tibetan Buddhism/Tibetan Vajrayana. Most of his research was done from Sikkim (preface XII) and none of his informants seems to be educated Khenpos/Geshes/or Rinpoches. At least he does not mention it anywhere. He seems to have only come in contact with ordinary monks of the "Pujari" type i.e. "Grantha Dhuras" in Buddhist terminology [Chopen (Chos-dpon) in Tibetan]. This book was written before the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet. The edition used for pagination in this critique is the 1993 edition, Gaurava Publishing.

Now the Book

In Preface IX he claims that the Lamas convinced themselves that he was a reflex of the Western Buddha Amithabha. No genuine Tibetan Buddhist

accepts anybody as a "Tulku" (reflex) of anybody unless certified by High Lamas like H.H. the Dalai Lama or H.H. the Sakya Trizin or H.H. the karmapa or H.H. Penor Rinpoche. He does not seem to have understood Eastern politeness at all in spite of living for long in the Indian subcontinent. For a Tulku (sprul-sku) (Sanskrit-Nirmanakaya, called reflex by him) to be recognized by Tibetans in general, he has first to be recognized by one of the high Lamas. This has been the tradition for over a thousand year.

Page X: He considers the founder of Lamaism to be Padmasambhava. This is inaccurate. Guru Padmasambhava played the key role in establishing Buddhism in Tibet, i.e. the Vajrayan form of Buddhism. However, what he established became only one lineage of Vajrayana in Tibet called the Nyigmapa. The other lineages were not established by him, as we will see later, although he is generally referred to as the first one to bring Buddhism to the land. In the same page Waddell says "He is considered by the Lamas of all sects to be the founder of their order and by the majority of them to be greater and more deserving of worship than Buddha himself". There are two gross mistakes here. First, it is not true that all the lamas of all the sects consider Guru Padmasambhava as the founder of their sect. This is historically wrong. The Kagyupa was founded by Marpa, the Skyapa was founded by Khon Konchog Gyalpo and his son Sachen Kunga Nyiingpo and the Gelugpa was founded by Tsong Khapa; and all educated lamas know this very well. Guru Padmasambhava is the founder of the Nyingma order and not the others (Dudjom 1991: 468, Thinley 1980:23-2, Trichen 1983: 14-15, Trungpa 1982:XLX and Roerich 1947/49:44:215-216; 399-405). And the second point is that the respect and value accorded to Guru Rinpoche by his followers is no more no less than that given by the Agra Sravaka Sariputra to his Guru Aswajit. Sariputra used to sleep with his head turned towards wherever Aswajit was even when Sariputra slept in the same Vihara as the Buddha. He did not sleep with his head turned towards the Buddha. And the Buddha himself sanctioned this behaviour of Sariputra.

Page XI: "Lamaism lives mainly by the senses and spends its strength in sacerdotal functions...." This is also a half-baked idea of Tibetan Vajrayana. Only one group of monks spend their time mostly in such rituals. The monks in colleges [Shedra (bShad-grwa)] and retreat centres [Drupada (bGrub-grwa)] do not spend their time in rituals. The above two quotes (X and XI) show that his informants were mostly uneducated "pujari" types and not real Khenpos, Geshes or Rinpoches. Also monks reading out Dharanis, or Parittis for laymen are found in all forms of Buddhism and was sanctioned by the

Buddha himself. This is not sacerdotal in the sense of a Christian priest coming in between God and the devotee. There is no God in any form of Buddhism for whom the priest can become a go between. Also in page XI: "But the bulk of the Lamaist cults comprise much deep-rooted devil worship and sorcery, which I describe with some fullness. For Lamaism is only thinly and imperfectly varnished over with Buddhist symbolism, beneath which the sinister growth of poly-demonist superstitions darkly appears." Here Waddell has gone beyond his bounds and shown clearly the main motive for his writing this book. As a clergy's son and himself a missionary, he was conditioned to see all other forms of religion as devil-worship. Also he was not trained to understand the metaphors of Vajrayana, which is the way of Allegory. In his Christian vision, all the Mandalas of wrathful deities found in Vajrayana were "devil-worship" and "poly-demonist superstitions". Almost 100 years afterwards a more sophisticated scholar, Dr. Daniel Goleman (Ph.D. Psychology, Harvard University), an award-winning journalist who reports on behavioural sciences for the *New York Times* has this to say about the same "devil-worship" and "poly demonist superstition" (in *Mind Science* 1991:91): "As a student of Psychology at Harvard, I had come to assume, as is the tacit assumption in the West, that psychology is a scientific topic that originated in America and Europe within the last century. So, when I got to Asia and really started to look into Eastern systems of thought I was astounded to find that cradled within every great religious tradition there is a psychological system, the esoteric part of the religion. And of those that I studied, it seemed to me that Tibetan Buddhism contained perhaps the most sophisticated of such psychology. The famous psychologist C.J. Jung, a student of Freud, who broke off from Freud because he found Freud's excessive linear modes inadequate, also thinks these Mandalas of wrathful and peaceful deities used in the Tibetan system (called Devil-worship and poly-demonist superstitions by Waddell) as a sophisticated method of integrating the mind (Jung 1998:59-76). Professor Herbert Guenther in his "Introduction to the Translation of *Bskyed-pa'i Rim-pa cho-ga dan sByar Bai gSal Byed Zun jug sNye-Ma* (Utpatti Krama Vidhi) called 'The Creative Vision' says of Sravakayana/Pratyekabuddhayana/Mahayana and Vajrayana thus: "In general, the first two pursuits, constitute of the Hinayana, a rather conservative movement that, philosophically, represents a naive realism. the third pursuit constitutes the Mahayana, a more comprehensive movement embracing all the varieties summed up by the term idealism. However, from the holistic viewpoint that gained precedence in the development of Buddhist thought,

these three pursuits rank rather low because they tend, precisely because of their excessively rational and reductionist character (realism being as reductionist as idealism), to diminish and ultimately even eliminate ones humanity. Certainly a world minus ourselves is a contradiction in itself, and a human being as a barren abstraction sheds little illumination on his or her concrete enworldedness and, to say the least, remains emotionally and spiritually unsatisfactory.

Once we understand the inadequacy of logical inductions and deductions as a way to impart meaning to our lives, we can "move on" to probe the forces working in and through us and to create a world in which we can live because it encompasses more than mere thinking. This moving on is the concern of ... the approach, referred to by the term Vajrayana." [Guenther 1987: VIII-IX]. *The Creative Vision* is a translation of a Tibetan book which deals with profound creative Mandala meditations. (Waddell's polydemonist magic circles). Geoffrey Samuel in his *Civilized Shamans* calls Tibetan Buddhism as as one of the great spiritual and psychological achievements of humanity (Samuel 1995:5).

It is clear that Waddell like most of the scholars of his time, including Indian scholars till the 60's and 70's educated in the then prevalent Western educational system was suffering from what Professor Herbert Guenther of the Saskatchewan University of Canada calls the "Kant/Hegel/Bradley syndrome" in his forward to S.B. Dasgupta's *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*. It is a result of an excessively linear educational system which trains/conditions people to see only what is linearly rational as correct/true/fact/non-superstition/of value. At the time Waddell wrote, science was making leaps and bounds using the linear Cartesian model called logical empiricism. But its limits and the blockage created to further growth by it was shown by Einstein in the beginning of the 1900's. And by 1970, it is no longer considered adequate to evaluate reality. Dr. Jeremy W. Hayward, who holds a Ph.D. in Nuclear Physics from Cambridge University, who spent several years at Massachusetts Institute of Technology doing research in molecular biology says in *Gentle Bridges*: "There is no longer a feeling that the foundations of science are clear, definite, solved, no problem. As we saw, there was this certainty up until 1900. And again, following roughly a quarter of a century of shaking foundations, from 1930-1960 a new feeling of certainty arose, based on logical empiricism. And that false sense of certainty still goes in some quarters.... Nevertheless, there is now a great debate among people who think about science as an activity. In the early 1970's there was a

major conference on the structure of scientific theories. In the proceedings of the conference, one of its organizers, Fredrick Suppe said: "The situation today, then, in philosophy of science is this: the positivistic analysis of scientific knowledge erected upon the Received View (logical empiricism) has been rejected, or at least highly suspect. For more than fifty years philosophy of science has been engaged in a search for philosophical understanding of scientific theories. Today it is still searching." (Hayward 1992: 16-17).

"Mind Science" was a record of the seminar celebrating 10 years of collaboration between the Tibetan Community and the Harvard Medical School's Department of Continuing Medical Education. And *Gentle Bridges* is a continuation of that symposium by some scientists. Dr. Fransisco J. Varela, Ph.D, Biology, Harvard, who was one of the main organizers of both symposiums with H.H. the Dalai Lama as the guest of honour, is presently trying to use the Tibetan meditational tradition to open up new avenues and new insight within cognitive sciences.

It is exactly because the Tibetan Vajrayana tradition is non-linear and highly metaphoric that Waddell, stricken by the Kant/Hegel/Bradley syndrome of his time, thoroughly misunderstood and misinterpreted his so-called "Lamaism". It is exactly because of the same reason that science, which has found that linear rational thinking, has failed to deliver the goods, and is finding non-linear, metaphoric Tibetan Buddhism interesting today.

This outdated excessive linear education is also one of the causes of Nepalese professors being unable to understand Nepalese cultural elements like Vajrayana etc. In short, Waddell was not trained to understand the deep psychological value system of Tibetan Vajrayana. If anything, he was trained by the Kant/Hegel/Bradley syndrome milieu of his time to misunderstand it, and that he did with the thoroughness of an Englishman. It is interesting to note that he even has Kant's disciple, Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Ideas* in the bibliography. And in page 111 he interprets the Buddha in a very Kantian way as replacing "A Supernatural Creator" by interpreting the universe as will and idea. So he saw only idolatry, poly-demonistic worship and silly jumbo-mumbo in his *Lamaism* whereas today's Western scientists see the profoundest "mind science" in it.

Now the Main Text

Page 10: "The point of divergence of these so-called Northern and Southern Schools was the theistic Mahayana doctrine which substituted for the

agnostic idealism and simple morality, a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background."

First of all, there is no God/Ishwar in Mahayana. So to call it theistic is not only a lack of knowledge but also a gross distortion of Mahayana philosophy. Nagarjuna himself has written a small text on "Ishwar, Kartrika Nirakarana", and Gyanasrimitra in the 7th chapter "Ishwaravada" of Gyanasrimitra Nibandhavalī (K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute) and his disciple Ratnakirti in the 8th chapter, "Ishwarsadhana Dushanam" (Ratnakirti-Nibandhavalī, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute) have refuted the concept of Ishwar, and hundreds of other Mahayana Acharyas, too numerous to be mentioned here have refuted Ishwarvada. So how can Mahayan be theistic? As for the "Agnostic Idealism" of the Southern school, the Pali Dīgha Nikāya-Brahma Jala Sutta itself refutes agnosticism as one of the 62 wrong views. So to call Southern Buddhism "Agnostic Idealism" is a gross misinterpretation of Southern Buddhism (this is the interpretation of Rhys Davids, an Anglo-German scholar). As for the "simple morality" (Sīla, Pratimokkha Samvara etc.) they are also fully observed in Northern Buddhism including Waddell's Lamaism. There were and are Bhikkhus following The Bhikkhu Pratimokkha Samvara even today in the so-called "Lamaism". As for the sophistic "Nihilism" of the Northern School, both the view of Sunyata and the view that things are neither existent nor non-existent are found in the Pali texts of the Southern Schools [(1) Sutta Nipata Parayana Vagga Tissametteyamanavakpucchā, (2) Sutta Nipata Jatukkannimanavakpucchā, (3) Sutta Nipata Mogharajamanavakpucchā, (4) Anguttara Nikāya 6th Nipata, Mahāvaygga, (5) Samyutta Nikāya Channa Sutta 3.22.90, (6) Samyutta Nikāya Lokayatika Sutta Nidana Vagga, (7) Anguttara Nikāya 4th Nipata Sanchetana Vagga, (8) Anguttara Nikāya 5th Nipata, (9) Samyutta Nikāya 5.22.85 Yamak Sutta]. It is also to be found in the Samyukta Agama of the Sarvastivādins (who are not Mahayana) translated in Chinese Samyuktāgama— 297, SA 300, SA 335, SA 237] [Of the notion of Emptiness in early Buddhism – Dr. Choong Mun – Keat, 1999: 34-39]

In the same page he writes, "The Mahasangika or "the great congregation" – a heretical sect which arose among the monks of Vaisali" – calling the Mahasangika a heretic sect is a clear influence of Anglo-German school's concepts. This was based on the chart given in the Pali Katha Vatthu which show, the Mahasangika and all the other 18 Nikāya as heretical school's branching out of Mother Theravada. At that time studies in Chinese and Tibetan sources had not been made. Today this mother Theravada and heretical

Mahasangika has been challenged after the study of charts found in the Tibetan and Chinese traditions by three other Ancients – (1) Vasumitra, (2) Bhabya, (3) Vinitadeva. Today's scholarship has challenged this concept of Waddell and there is no more the belief that the Southern Buddhism of Waddell and the Anglo-German scholars i.e. the Theravada alone represents the original Buddhism and that all others branched out from it. First of all the Southern Buddhism itself is a branch of the Vibhajjavad, which itself is a branch of the Sthavirvada which separated from the Sarvastivada [Yin Shun quoted in Keat 1999: 100, also Bapat 1987: 98 chart]. Secondly, the so-called Southern School of Waddell is also a branch out of the original Buddhism as much as Mahayana. Stanislav Schayer (Leningrad School) in his *Pre-Canonical Buddhism* says, "We now know that Mahayan does not necessarily represent a younger stage of evolution and that in many respects it has preserved old elements more truthfully than Hinayanism." (Schayer 1935: 121-132). The Mahasangikas were convinced that their decision was in conformity with the teaching of the Great Master and claimed more orthodoxy than the Theravadins (Bapat 1987: 88). The famous Theravadin Bhikku Mahathera Sangharakchita remarks that, "The Mahayana schools have on the whole been more faithful to the spirit of the Original Teachings" (Sangharakchita 1996: 117-187). Dr. Edward Conze (Franco-Belgian School) says, "In so far as the Mahayana derives from anything, it is from the Mahasangikas. Even this is only partly true and it appears that at first, far from introducing any innovations, the Mahayana did no more than place a new emphasis on certain aspects of the commonly accepted traditional materials" [Conze 1962: 203]. Richard Robinson says, "The elders (Theravadins) claimed to be conservative, but in fact distorted the primitive teachings considerably.... The Mahasangikas admitted Upasakas and non-Arhat monks to their meetings, and were sensitive to popular religious values and aspirations. They were progressive innovators; two out of three basic strands in the Mahayana are of Mahasangika origin.... Yet in some ways, they remained truer to the primitive teachings than did the elders (Theravadins) [Robinson 1970: 37-38]. So Waddell's concepts are completely out of date and wrong.

Page 11 : "This Mahayana doctrine was essentially a sophistic Nihilism and under it the goal of Nirvana or rather Pari-Nirvana, while ceasing to be extinction of life, was considered a mystical state which admitted of no definition." And on the footnote #2 on the same page he writes that the Buddha called his system, "The Middle Way..." To avoid the two extremes of

superstition on one side and worldliness or infidelity on the other." He quotes Rhys Davids. First of all, not even Pali Suttas are found which define the "Middle Way" as avoiding superstition on the other hand and worldliness on the other; but rather excessive worldliness and excessive asceticism. But also in the Samyutta Nikaya [12:15], the Sasta (teacher himself has called exactly the Mahayanist so-called "Sophistic Nihilistic" view as the middle way (Majjena). And the view is to be free from "Sabbam Athi" i.e. all exists and "Sabbam Nathi" i.e. all do not exist. Here both Waddell and Rhys Davids are seen to be wrong and misinterpreting the meaning of the words "Middle Way" (Madhyama Pratipada).

Page 12: "Mahayana is said to introduce innumerable demons... with their attendant idolatry and sacerdoatualism." I have already dealt with this "demons" concept and sacerdoatualism, so I shall not repeat it here.

Page 13: Waddell claims that Asanga (500 AD) imported Yoga system of Patanjali to Buddhism. This is again the influence of the Anglo-German school who have portrayed the Buddha as some kind of an ancient rationalist pure and simple – that meditation was not really what the Buddha did. I don't think I need to refute this self-evident nonsense. The way of the Buddha was not some dry rational, logical linear thinking alone, although it does use it; but is mainly based on meditation. The Buddha has clearly said that there is no Klesha Chhyaya without Bhawana (Anguttara Nikaya). And the Buddha's teachings are for Klesha Chhyaya and not mere intellectual sophistry as Rhys Davids and Waddell would have us believe. Furthermore, Dr. S.N. Dasgupta says the opposite, that the Yoga Sutra of Patanjali is nothing but the Hinduization of Buddhist meditational methods (Dasgupta 1975:236-238)

Page 14: He claims that, "distinct traces of Yoga are to be found in modern Burmese and Ceylonese Buddhism." This is already refuted above.

Page 15: He says, "Such was the distorted form of Buddhism introduced into Tibet; and during the three or four succeeding centuries, Indian Buddhism became still more debased." Here Waddell is propagating the myth which is still being propagated by many Indian writers and their Nepalese followers that the Tantric period of Indian Buddhism was a period of decline of intellectual and moral standards of Buddhism. But actual historical researches have shown to the contrary that it was exactly between the 3rd/4th centuries to the 12th century that Indian Buddhism reached the acme of its creativity in all fields. Most of the theories and intellectually sharpest logical and intellectual and philosophical books were written in India during this period and most of the authors were Tantric practitioners. Professor Herbert V.

Guenther in his forward to Sashi Bhushan Dasgupta's *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* says that Sashi Bhushan "continues the myth of a gradual decline of intellectual and, possibly moral standards in Buddhism. As all Hindu scholars he believes in the virtual identity of Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, an attitude which A. Bharati in his *Tantric Traditions* (Page 21F) aptly terms detrimental to the study of Indian Absolutistic philosophy irrelevant to any Tantric study." (Dasgupta: 1974: X-Preface). Furthermore, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya calls Tantra the greatest contribution to mankind that India gave (Bhattacharyya 1989: 165). As for meditation in Burma and Ceylon, they are a continuity of what the Buddha himself taught and not vestiges of yoga influence upon these Buddhist traditions.

In the same page (15), he writes, "and this so-called 'esoteric' but properly exoteric' cult was given a respectable antiquity by alleging that its real founder was Nagarjuna...." Again he has given a distorted version of even what the Tantric Buddhist texts claim. They do not claim that it began from Nagarjuna; but rather they were all taught by the Buddha but brought in later from various places, on earth or other *lokas* by different Mahasiddhas like Luipada, Savaripada, Krishnacharya and Nagarjuna (Taranath: *History of the 7 Lineages and History of Buddhism in India*). As in most places, Waddell has not shown his source (as he did not have any genuine sources with him) which claims that Tantra began from Nagarjuna. On the other hand there is a great possibility that he did not understand what his Sikkimese informants were trying to tell him. All of Buddhist Tantric practice is based on the view of Nagarjuna called the Madhyamic view. This is the Samyakdristi which is the 1st limb of the Astangika Marga based Buddhist Tantra. So Buddhist Tantric meditation is based on either the Prasangika Madhyamic view or the Svatantric Madhyamic (Sanskrit. Dristi, Tibetan. Tawa) of Nagarjuna and not that Tantra itself began from Nagarjuna.

There in the same page (15) he continues to say, "In the 10th century the Tantric phase developed in Northern India, Kashmir and Nepal into the monstrous and poly-demonist doctrine, the Kalachakra, with its demoniacal Buddhas, which incorporated the Mantrayana practices and called itself the Vajrayana...." Again he has not provided, as usual with him, any historical sources etc. to make such a fantastic statement. There is no difference in the base, the path and the fruit and the view used in Kalachakra or Guhyasamaja or Hevajra or Chakrasamvara. I do not see why Kalachakra is more "poly-demonic" than the older others. Furthermore, it is complete nonsense to call only the Kalachakra as Vajrayana. This shows remarkable lack of knowledge

of the field. It is useful to re-iterate here that it is exactly these Kalachakra types of mandala which Waddell calls "poly-demonist" in a rather uneducated fashion that C.G. Jung finds powerful means to re-integrate the mind in his Vol. II, *Psychology and Religion: East and West*: 1958. He says in his psychological commentary on "*The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*" – "The gods are archetypal thought forms belonging to the sambhogakaya. Their peaceful and wrathful (poly-demonic by Waddell) aspects, which play a great role in the meditation of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, symbolize the opposites. In Nirmanakaya, these opposites are no more than human conflicts: but in the Sambhogakaya, they are the positive and negative principles united in one and the same figure" (Jung. 1958/1978:123).

Page 17: He makes the grossest historical error by calling Jainism an offshoot of Buddhism. I don't think I need to refute such a gross error. But according to both Buddhist and Jain sources, Jainism (Nirgrantha Natha Putras) were already existing a century or more before even the Buddha himself. (Winternitze 1983: 19-25).

At the end of Page 17 he contradicts himself by writing "Lamaism" "still it preserves there as we shall see, much of the loftier philosophy and ethics of the system taught by the Buddha himself." I would like you to refer to XI of the preface where he had just written, "But the bulk of the Lamaist cult comprise much deep rooted devil-worship and sorcery....". "For Lamaism, beneath which the sinister growth of poly-demonist superstition darkly appears."

Page 24: Here he writes 3 big blunders. He calls Shantarakshita the family priest of King Tri Song Detsen, which is incorrect. Shantarakshita was a Pandita of Nalanda called to Tibet to spread Buddhism. He was not a mere family priest. A few lines below Waddell claims at that time Guru Padmasambhava was a resident of Nalanda when called to Tibet, which is again inaccurate, and of special interest to students of Nepalese cultural history. All the Tibetan sources including the Pema Kathang (Tarthang 1978 : 364, Kunsang 1993: 59 and Roerich 1949/1979:43) say very clearly that at that time he was residing in the Yanglesho - Asura Cave complex above the present Pharping in Nepal above Vajrayogini, or in a cave in the Himalayas where he was said to be enlightened. As Guru Padmasambhava was the Guru who initiated the Nyingma school which is the predominant Vajrayana system amongst native ethnic groups of the Himalayas and most ethnic groups of lower Himalayas, this place is as holy as Bodhagaya for a vast number of Nepalese.

It is sad that such things of cultural importance to a vast number of Nepalese are unknown even to so called professors of Culture of Nepal. Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhava) was a teacher in Nalanda; but at the time when King Tri Song Detsen sent his emissaries to call him he was meditating in the Asura Caves complex in Pharping. Further down the line Waddell calls Guru Padmasambhava "the founder of Lamaism.... And is more deified and celebrated in Lamaism than the Buddha himself". This is not only historically wrong but also a gross misinterpretation of the Buddhist culture of revering ones Guru as the representative of the Buddha and psychologically of more importance to the individual than the historically distant Buddha. This reverence to the Guru is modeled after Sariputra (one of the two main disciples of the Buddha), who is recorded in the Southern Schools Pali Nikaya (texts) themselves as always sleeping with his head towards Aswajit, his immediate Guru even when he slept in the same Vihara with the Buddha himself. This was when the Buddha was alive. Thirteen hundred years later that Guru Rinpoche, who brought Buddhism to Tibet should be revered as equal to a Buddha is following the same principles that the Agra Sravaka Sariputra himself taught by his own model. Secondly, Guru Rinpoche did not establish what he called "Lamaism", as what Waddell called "Lamaism" already had 4 major schools (1. The Nyingmapa, 2. The Sakyapa, 3. The Kagyupa, 4. the Gelugpa) each of which has its own founder, going back to Indian Buddhist Gurus, it is inaccurate to say Guru Padmasambhava was the founder of Lamaism. It is historically and technically more correct to say that he was the 1st to introduce Buddhism as a whole into Tibet and is the founder of the Nyingma tradition and is however also highly revered by the other traditions.

Page 26: Here he says "sLobdPon" is the Tibetan equivalent of "Guru". This is wrong, it is the Tibetan equivalent of 'Acharya' and 'Guru' is translated as 'Lama'. In the same page he quotes Marco Polo calling the magical powers (Pratiharya/Siddhi) as deviltries etc. It is not surprising that the 19th century Christians and older Marco Polo would call all magical display by other religions as works of devilry while with the same breath call Christ's magical display as divine. I don't think I have to elaborate on this point in this 21st century.

Page 27: Here he brings out the point of how Guru Rinpoche incorporated the local deities as "defenders of this religions" (Dharmapala) by Subduing them. He goes on to write how Kobo Daishi also incorporated Shinto deities etc. etc. Again he shows remarkable ignorance of Buddhism as a whole. In

the Anguttara Nikaya in two different Suttas in the 4th and the 5th Nipat, the Sasta has clearly said that Bali should be given to Bali Grahak Devas. These are Devas favorable to Buddhism. Many Devas took refuge in the Buddha while he was alive and these are the Bali Grahak Devas or Dharmapalas. But this does not mean that later Gurus also cannot subdue and convert other Devas in other lands to be protectors of Buddhism. Nowhere in even the Pali Nikayas is it said that that cannot be done. In fact it is in the true spirit of the Buddha that through the centuries as Buddhism spreads to other lands, new deities should and would be subdued to protect Buddhism. It is natural that the Buddha himself (or his disciples) subdued Devas and Nagas etc. to be favorable to Buddhism in the land they were in while later Gurus would subdue new deities as Buddhism spread to new lands. Otherwise we would have to say that Buddhism is meant only for the people of Madhya Desha and its culture. Also in the Southern Schools Pali Digga Nikaya the Udumbarika Sihanada Sutta, the Sasta has given clear permission to Nigrodha (and thus to all Buddhists) to continue whatever is in their culture as long as it does not contradict the basics of Buddhism like its Samyag Dristi etc. For example, one cannot continue cultural elements like animal sacrifice and call it Buddhist. But the above Digga Nikaya clearly permits Buddhists to continue other cultural elements which do not contradict such basic Buddhist tenets. Waddell and Rhys Davids are thinking of Christian or Semitic models where the entire culture has to be transplanted by Christian culture. This is not true or correct of Buddhism. So to use local deities and offer them Bali (not animal sacrifice, but in the Buddhist sense) is perfectly Buddhist and does not make that a mixed, impure Buddhism. "Buddhism has never refused to accept rework and transform the ideas of other people" (Tucci 1980: 15). This is truer to the spirit of Buddhism.

Page 28: "The Guru... with Shantarakshita... instituted the order of the Lamas...". This is completely misleading. The Guru and Shantarakshita did not institute a new thing that can be called "the order of the Lamas". They ordained Bhikshus according to the Mula Sarvastivada Vinaya, which was the most common Vinaya at that time in India. So they instituted the 1st Bhikshu order based on the Mula-sarvastivada Vinaya and not "the order of the Lamas" as Waddell writes. In the note on the same page, he writes that Shantarakshita belonged to the "Svatantra School". This is inaccurate, incomplete and misleading. There is no "Svatantra School". His informants or he himself seems to have confused and jumbled up couple of things. Shantarakshita was a Bhikshu of the Mula-Sarvastivada school, his writings

like the "Tatva Samgraha" show that he subscribed to the Svatantrika Madhyamika school i.e. his philosophical hermeneutics was based on this tradition. The Svatantrika Madhyamika lineage starts from Bhava Viveka also called Bhavya which is missing in Waddell's list in the footnote. Furthermore, all Madhyamika lineages end in Nagarjuna. Since he has not mentioned his sources, it is not known on what basis he put Sariputra and Ananda also on the lineage of Svatantrika Madhyamika school which developed after Nagarjuna and after Bhava Viveka.

Page 29: Here he has correctly written that the word "Lamaism" has no counterpart in Tibetan. This is a misnomer and should not be used by Nepalese scholars as Vajrayana is very much an integral part of Nepalese culture both Newar and Himalayan. We should call it Himalayan Vajrayana, Newar Vajrayana, Tibetan Vajrayana.

Here he has called the 'Termas' as "the fictitious scriptures of the unreformed lamas" without even seeming to know that they are called Termas (Sanskrit Nidhi). He has also not given any proof as to why they are fictitious. Thus it appears that Waddell himself is the supreme authority to decide what is real and what is 'fictitious'. This statement seems to be based more on his Christian Clergyman prejudices rather than on impartial scientific scholarship. For Christians like him, only the miracles of Christ are genuine, all others are either 'fictitious' or works of 'poly-demonist sorcery'. Tulku Thondup in his book *Hidden Teachings of Tibet* writes, "In both the Mahayana Sutras and tantras, there is the tradition of concealment and rediscovery of teachings through the Enlightened power of realized beings. The tradition has two aspects-first, appropriate teachings can be discovered by realized beings or they will appear for them from the sky, mountains, lakes, trees, and beings spontaneously according to their wishes and mental abilities, second, they can conceal the teachings in books, and other forms and entrust them to Devas, Nagas and other powerful beings to protect and hand over to the right person at the proper time. Other realized persons will rediscover these teachings in the future (Thondup 1986:57). Tulku Thondup Rinpoche is a Tibetan who is what is wrongly called by Nepalese laymen as "Avatari Lama", which is more scholastically accurate to call 'Nirmanakaya' which is the meaning of 'Tulku (sprul-sku)' in Tibetan. He was lecturer in Indo-Tibetan studies at Lucknow University from 1967-1976 and Reader at Vishwa-Bharati University from 1976-1980, and a visiting scholar at Harvard University from 1980-1983.

Page 30: He has defined Lamaism thus, "Primitive Lamaism may therefore be defined as a priestly mixture of Shaivite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism. And to the present day Lamaism still retains this character." First of all he contradicts himself from what he said in Page 17 where he writes, "It preserves there, as we shall see, much of the loftier philosophy and ethics of the system taught by the Buddha himself." Secondly, he has not validated his claim of shaivite Mysticism influencing Lamaism. Again he appears to be the supreme authority to decide these things. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya on the contrary thinks in his *An Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism*— "It has been made abundantly clear that Vajrayana was a direct development of the Yogachara philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism..." and again, "The development in tantra made by the Buddhist and the extraordinary plastic art they developed, did not fail to create an impression also on the minds of the Hindu, who readily incorporated many ideas, doctrines, practices and gods, originally conceived by the Buddhists for their religion. The literature which goes by the name of Hindu Tantras, arose almost immediately after the Buddhist ideas had established themselves...." (Bhattacharyya: 1993:35 & 50-51). But even Bhattacharyya's concept of Buddhist Tantras from Yogachara is inaccurate as all Buddhist Tantras follow the Madhyamika, but that is besides the point.

Page 32: He calls Gung Thangla in Mangyul "on the Northern confines of Tibet." Actually it is just north of the Kyirong pass above Trisuli and in the west of Tibet. Here he says Guru Rinpoche, "After residing in Tibet for almost 50 years (say the chronicles, though it is probable he only remained a few years)..." Again he has neither given the name of his chronicle, which he quotes nor gives any proof as to why according to him "though it is probable he only stayed a few years". Again he himself becomes the supreme authority to decide how many years Guru Rinpoche stayed in Tibet. Not even one record in Tibet agrees with Waddell, and there are no other outside records about Guru Rinpoche.

Page 32-40: There are many errors repeated from former points or based on former points.

Page 40: Here Waddell says, "And they (the Kagyu, Sakya and Nyingma) also adopted the plan of succession by re-incarnate lamas....". He thinks that the Dalai Lama was the 1st incarnate Lama. But the institution of the Dalai Lama began only after Tsong Khapa, after the 15th century, and that too he was recognized only after the 5th Dalai Lama because he became the Head of

the State; whereas the 2nd Karmapa was already recognized from 1206 as the incarnation of Düsum Khenpa. By the time of the 1st Dalai Lama, who died in 1474, there were already 7 Karmapas. So it is historically wrong to claim that the other sects copied the Incarnate Lama system from the Gelugpas.

Page 45: He calls the Tanyik Serten as considered the most reliable authority on Guru Padmasambhava (he writes St. Padma in a typical Christian fashion). This is not correct. In fact no Nyingma Khenpo of any scholastic repute has even heard of such a text (Tanyik Serten).

Page 47: He translates Dzog Chen as "The Great End". This is totally wrong: it means "The Great Completion" or "The Great Perfection" and that is how it is translated by all modern authors. It is the Tibetan of the Sanskrit 'Maha Sampanna' or the probably Prakrit 'Maha Sandhi (Maha-Chen, Sampanna=Dzog)' (Trantric Practices in Nyingma:Sangpo:1982:185-193). It is also sometimes translated as Maha Shanti.

Page 56: The chart of the schools of Tibetan Buddhism presented here is very faulty. He has shown as if all the other schools (Sakya, Kagyu, Gelug) derive from the Nyingma. That is outright wrong. The Nyingma is the oldest but just as the Nyingma begins from the Indian Guru Padmasambhava, the Sakya begins from the Indian Guru Virupada, the Kagyu from the Indian Guru Tilopada and Naropada and the Gelug from the Khadampa which was initiated by the Indian Guru Atisha. He has given Lhatsunpa, Kartogpa, Nadkpa, Mindrolinpa, Dorje Tugpa and Orgyenpa as if they were different sects of Nyingma. This is not correct. First of all, he has mixed up names of Tertons and monasteries to represent so-called subsects. Mindroling is the name of a monastery in Central Tibet whereas Lhatsunpa was a Terton. As there are over a hundred Tertons, if each Terton's teachings etc. is to be taken as a separate school, his history of only 6 is incomplete. However, even these are not considered as separate schools within the Nyingma tradition itself. He has divided the Sakyapa into (1) Sakyapa, (2) Ngorpa, (3) Jonangpa. First of all he has completely missed out the Tsarpa school of the Sakyapas, which is more important as a sub-school of the Sakya than the Jonangpa as the Jonangpa does not exist today (except one monastery in zamthan), and was extinct long before Waddell wrote his book. As for his chart of Kagyupa, it is just arbitrary and a collection of whatever names Waddell could get. He completely misses out what is called the 4 Major and 8 Minor lineages of the Kagyupa. He even shows 'Kagyupa' as a different line from Karmapa and the Drukpa and Tagalong, Drikung. There never was separate Kagyupa from the 4 Major ones and he has missed the Tsalpa and

Baram. The 4 Major are (1) The Karma Kagyu, also called Kamtshang Kagyu (and not Karmapa, as Waddell has written), which was started by the Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa, (2) The Tsalpa Kagyu, started by Zhang Yudrakpa Tondru Drakpa, (3) The Baram Kagyu of Baram Darma Wangchuk and (4) Phagmo Drukpa Kagyu, started by Phamo Dru Dorje Gyalpo. Three of the names, Lower, Middle and Upper Drukpa as given by Waddell are minor lineages out of the Drukpa Kagyu, which itself is one of the 8 minor Kagyu lineages from Phagmo Drukpa. The eight minor Kagyu lineages stemming out of the Phagmo Drugpa Kagyu are— (1) Drigung Kagyu, (2) Taglung Kagyu, (3) Trophu Kagyu, (4) Drukpa Kagyu, (5) Martshang Kagyu, (6) Yelpe Kagyu, (7) Shugeseb Kagyu, and (8) Yamzang Kagyu of which only the Dirkung and Drukpa exist as separate entity today (Thinley: 1980:24)

Thus the Kagyu lineage also has been completely muddled up by Waddell. A clear picture of the entire Kagyu lineage is to be found in *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet* by my own root Guru the Very Venerable Karma Thinley Rinpoche (Thinley 1980:21-30), (Thondup 1984:17-25), (Dudjom 1991:475-501) & (Thondup: 1987:48-56)

Page 57: Here too he has given a completely imaginary chart of the new schools with no relevance to real lineage history. He has also not shown his sources again. He has shown the Sakya lineage starting from Nagarjuna through Vasuputra to Konchog Gyalpo. First of all the Sakya Lam Dre lineage does not start from Nagarjuna but from one of the 84 Mahasiddhas called Virupada, and there is no Vasuputra mentioned in either the Sakya Kabum (the collected works of the Sakyapa) or in the Blue Annals. This seems to be some imaginary name created by Waddell himself, as he has not mentioned his sources. Also the first Tibetans to receive these teachings were Sherab Tseng and Drogmi Lotsawa, who spent many years in India. Between Drogmi and Virupa are 5 other Indian Siddhas completely left out by Waddell. They are Krishnacharya, Dombi Heruka, Damarupada, Avadhutpada and Gayadhara. Gayadhara went to Tibet and met Drogmi. He calls the Tantra of the Sakya 'Gambhira Darshan' and even gives the Tibetan 'Zabmo ta'. Here too he seems hopelessly confused about Tantras and their classification. The main Tantra of the Sakyapas is the Hevajra Tantra, but also includes Kalachakra Tantra, Chakrasamvara Tantra, Vajra Bhairava Tantra and many others. In the classification of Tantras, the Hevajra Tantra is called a Gambhira Tantra (Zabmo of Waddell) and the Kalachakra as Vaipulya Tantra. Waddell has completely muddled up these issues. Also he has translated LamDre as possibly 'Phala Marga'. It is the Tibetan for the system of

meditational Krama called Marga Phalam. He has also confused the fact of the 1st Sakya patriarch being inspired by Manjushree and ever since that all Sakya hierarchies are considered as incarnations of Manjushree; and claims that the whole lineage from before Nagarjuna being inspired by Manjushree. Likewise he has completely mixed up the meditative doctrine and Tantra of the Kagyu lineage. He seems to be unaware that Naropa was not the only guru of Marpa but Naropa sent him to Maitripada, Kukkuripada and many others. The Kagyu meditative doctrine is not only Mahamudra but also 'Naro Sad Darma' (Naro Cho drug). The Tantra of Naropa is Chakrasamvara and the 6 Yogas of Naropa and not Mnam-Len-Byin-Labs, which again is unheard of and seems to be Waddell's own creation. It is not at all clear what these words mean but the Kagyu lineage is famous for meditative blessings and the Tibetan for that is 'Nyam Len Jin Lab' ('Byin Labs' is pronounced Jin Lab). The songs of expression often chanted by Kagyupas is called 'Jhinlab Char Web'. Waddell again is probably hopelessly muddled about this concept of the Kagyu lineage being a special meditative lineage of blessing ('Nyamlen' is taking into experience, and 'Jinlab' is 'adhistan' or blessing). And he calls it, its special Tantra. The Tantras of the Kagyu lineage are Chakrasamvara, Mahamaya, Hevajra etc., and especially Vajra Varahi as related to the Chandali Yoga (Tibetan Tummo [gTum-Mo]). Furthermore, the Kagyupa Mahamudra does not come from Naropa but rather from Maitripa to Marpa from a long lineage including Nagarjuna and Sarahapada.

Page 58: He claims that about 30 of the 'Revelations' have been discovered. This is also hopelessly wrong. More than hundred had already been discovered by the time Waddell wrote his book. There are altogether 278 or more Tertons prophecied in the "Baidurya' I Phreng Ba" – The Precious Garland of Lapis Lazulis", which is The Brief History of the Profound Termas [gTer-Ma] and Tertons [gTer-ston] (1813-1899) published by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimed 1977. He also thinks that these Termas are related only to Guru Padmasambhava. While the majority of the Tertons ('Revealers' as Waddell calls them) are mostly related to guru Padmasambhava, there are many other 'Shyarma [gSar-Ma]' i.e. New School Tertons who brought out Termas not related to Guru Padmasambhava. Waddell is totally ignorant of this (1) Lord Tsangpa Gyare (1161-1211), (2) Gyud Chen Sangye Gyatso, (3) Rechung, the disciple of Milarepa (1084-?), (4) Drogon Chogyal Phagpa, the 4th Sakya Hierarch (1255-1280), (5) Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, the 3rd Karmapa (1281-X-1334), (6) Buton Rinchen Drup (1290-1364), (7) Gyalwang Gedun gyatso, the 5th Dalai Lama, (8) Lodro Rinchen Senge all

discovered Termas not related to Padmasambhava while Nyalpa Nyima Sherab and Nyem Lo Darma Trag were New School teachers who brought out the Termas of Guru Padmasambhava (Thondup 1986:167).

Also two famous Indian Panditas who went to Tibet brought out Termas - (1) the famous Bengali Siddha and Mahapandita Atisha and (2) the last abbot (Upadhyaya/Khenpo) of Vikramashila, Sakya Sri Bhadra, the Kashmiri Pandita who saw Vikramashila destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji's hoard in front of his own eyes and wept saying, "Now Buddhism is finished from India" and went to Tibet with 9 Mahapanditas, some of whom were Nepalese. Also, it is a totally false allegation recklessly made by Waddell that these Termas deal with "codes of demon worship". Many parts of many of the Termas like the Nyin Thig and Chokling Tersar have been already translated into English and they deal with a profound meditational technique related to Vipassyana called 'Chittanusmriti' and other forms of Vipassyana. None of them have any demon-worship in them. Waddell is either blatantly telling a lie or his mind is so constipated by Christian missionary vision that he perceives all but Christianity as devil-worship; or he has never seen a Terma at all.

Page 62: He calls 'Sange Du' 'Guhya Kala' mistaking 'Du' for 'Kala' or time but which is actually 'Guhya Samaja Tantra', and he is ignorant of the fact that the six armed 'Gonpo' is the Mahakala called 'Sad Bhuja Nath'.

Page 66: Here in his chart he has confused and mixed up many names below the name of Dvagio Lharje, who is the same as Gompopa. He puts Karma Bakshi as the direct disciple of Dvagio Lharje, which is wrong. Dusum Khenpa the 1st Karmapa was the disciple of Dvagio Lharje, while Karma Bakshi was the 2nd Karmapa. In fact Waddell has shown the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Karmapas (Dusum Khenpa, Karma Bakshi and Rangjung Dorje) as if they were 3 different names of the same person. Also the rest of the chart has no relation to the 4 Major and 8 Minor lineages that developed within the Kagyupa as already pointed out earlier (Thinley 1980:21-581).

Page 69: He says, "The hermit feature of this sect rendered it so unattractive that several sub-sects soon arose which dispensed with the necessity for hermitage. Thus appeared the sub-sects of Karmapa, DiKungpa, Talungpa and Dukpa..." First of all, Waddell is making very wild guess as to why new sub-sects arose. His guess is totally off the mark because all of the Kagyu sub-sects are still renowned for their hermit style life - even today in India and Nepal. Second, he calls the Kamtsang Kagyu or Karma Kagyu as Karmapa, which is inaccurate and thirdly, he calls the Dukpa Kagyu a major sect with the other three. Actually the next major is Tsalpa, as seen earlier

and the Drukpa Kagyu is one of the 8 Minors. The reason why so many sub-sects arose is due to the many dynamic meditator hermit teachers who arose within the Kagyu system and not to avoid the hermitage, as Waddell would have us believe.

In the same page he says, "The Karmapa sub-sect was founded in the middle of the 12th century by Karmapa Ran Chun Dorje also named Dusum Khyenpo" Dusum Khyenpa (not Khyenpo as Waddell has written) is the 1st Karmapa, who started the Kamtshang Kagyu. "Ranchun Dorje" of Waddell is Rangjyung Dorje, the 3rd Karmapa. They were not the same person. Further down Waddell says, "This Karmapa (that is Dusum Khenpa and Rangjyung Dorje rolled into one by Waddell) does not appear to be identical with the famous 'Karma Bakshi'..." He does not seem to even know that Dusum Khenpa was the 1st Karmapa, Karma Bakshi was the 2nd Karmapa and Rangjyung Dorje was the 3rd Karmapa.

Page 69/70: He states that the first Sakya monastery built in Sakya is in the Western Tibet. This is completely off mark. Sakya is in the Tsang district of Central Tibet, not in western Tibet, although west of Lhasa. Then he writes a series of complete non-sense unheard of my any Sakya Khenpo or Rinpoche or Lupon or written in any Sakya records. He writes, "It's founder K'on dKon mChog rGyalpo, a pupil of Kugpa Lha-bTsas, who claimed'.., inspiration from the celestial bodhisat of wisdom, Manjushree, through the Indian sages ranging from Nagarjuna to Vasuputra..." and he mixed together the 'old' and the 'new' Tantras, calling his new doctrine the "new-old" occult mystery of the 'deep sight'. Its mystic insight is called the 'Fruitful Path'. It's special gospels are Nagarjuna's Avatansak, Vasubandhu's Paramartha. Its tutelary demon is Vajra Phurpa borrowed from the Nyingma book 'Dorje phurpa chi Choga' and from the newer school were taken Dem-Chok, Dorje Khando, Den zi, Maha-Mahama yab, Sangye Topa and Dorje Dutsi. Its demonical guardians are 'The Guardian of the Tent' and 'The Face Lord'. But now except in a few externals, it is practically indistinguishable from the Nyingma." That the lineage mentioned here is completely mixed up I have already shown afore. Drogmi Lotsawa is the teacher of Konchog Gyalpo and not Kugpa Lha bTsas (Roerich 1949/1979:208, Trichen 1983:IX / Thondup 1987: 57)

In the note, he has translated yab-SRAS as Vasuputra whereas it means 'Father and Son' (Pita-putra) and is used for Nagarjuna and Aryadeva or also for each Sakya hierarch and son, also the Karmapa and the 4 sons and Tsong Khapa and his disciples. So Vasuputra is completely wrong. In that note he

even goes so far as to make the wildest guess and say that Vasuputra is probably Vasubandhu without any proof at all to claim that. Then he goes on to say even more weird things by saying that Vasuvandu was the special transmitter of Nagarjuna's purer Sautrantic doctrines. This is indeed like a completely entangled ball of wool. Nagarjuna is renowned to any scholar of worth as the founder of Madhyamic not Sautrantic. Vasubandhu is also renowned to have left the Sautrantic philosophy for the Yogachara. He certainly is not a transmitter of Nagarjuna's purer Sautrantik doctrines. Nor is Yab Sras the Tibetan for Vasu bandhu, who is known in Tibetan as Yig Nyen [dByg-gNyen], and the Sakya do not hold any special lineage coming down from Nagarjuna to Vasubandhu or Vasumitra (whoever that be). All the 4 schools of Tibetan Buddhism study both Nagarjuna's Madhyamic philosophy and Vasubandhu or Vaibhasika/Sautantrika doctrines (Abhidharma Kosha). It is not a special lineage that distinguish the Sakyas from the others.

The tutelary deity of the Sakyas is not Vajra Phurpa (Sanskrit, Vajra Kilaya) but rather Sri Hevajra (Trichen 1983:7-23). But it also uses Vajra Kilaya, which was taken from the Nyingma. But it was not taken from the book, *Dorje Phurpa chi Chopa*, which is the "Puja Vidhi of Vajrakilaya". There is a whole Tantra related to Vajra Kilaya - Vajrakilaya Mula Tantra Khanda/Tib. RDorje Phurpa rTsa-ba'I rGyud Kyi Dum Bu Waddell must have seen the Pujari (Chopen) type lamas in Sikkim use this text to do the puja of Vajrakilaya and just made a wild guess that this was the book from which it was taken by the Sakyas. This is a solid proof that the informants he met were Pujari type lamas and he actually never met real scholars like Lopons/Khenpos/Gheshe or Rinpoches, nor did he meet real meditators called Champas or Gomchens. Nor is there any Avatamsaka of Nagarjuna or Paramartha of Vasubandhu so far either in Indian sources or Tibetan sources. The Avatamsaka Sutra was not a work of Nagarjuna and there does not seem to be any work of Vasubandhu called Paramartha. And also neither the Avatamsaka Sutra nor any text called Paramartha are the special gospel of the Sakyapas, as claimed by Waddell; nor are they even studied in the 9 years scholastic curriculum of the Sakyas - now founded in Dehradun, India. The Dem Chog is the Chakrasamvara common among our own Newars, the Dorje Khando is Vajra Dakini also found amongst the Newars, the Maha-Mahamayab is again a muddling up of Mahamaya Tantra as no such Tibetan deity is found. 'The Guardian of the Tent' is Vajrapanjar Nath Mahakal whose iconography is found in Swayambhu and the 'Face-Lord' is again a muddling

up of Chatur Mukha Mahakal (4-Faced Lord), all of which Waddell has called 'demons'.

Waddell has not even mentioned the two major deity cycle for which the Sakyas are well known i.e. the Lamdre Hevajra. and the Kalachakra (Trichen 1983:6 and Roerich 1949/1979:210-240). He says the Ngorpa (written 'Norpa' by Waddell), the Jonangpa and the Sakyapa differ from each other only in the founder. That is also wrong. The Jonangpa practice the Kalachakra, the Ngorpa Hevajra while the Sakyapa besides Hevajra also take up the Nyingma Vajra Kilaya. He calls the Jonangpa founder as Kun gah Dol Chog. This too is wrong. He also writes in the footnote that Kunga Dol-chog is also called Dol-bu Sherab gyen. Here too, as in many places he has muddled up a couple of names into one mess. First of all, the founder of Jonangpa was Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen (1292-1361) and not Jonangpa Kunga Drolchok (1507-0566). Neither Kunga Drolchog nor Sherab Gyaltsen is called Sherab Gyen. Sherab Gyaltsen is the Tibetan of Pragya Dhawaja while Sherab Gyen is the Tibetan for Pragya Alankara. The founder of the Jonang school is of special interest to Nepalese culture and history students because he was from Dolpo. That is why he is called Dolpopa. The word 'Dolbu Sher gyen' in the footnote by Waddell seems to be a mix up of the names Dolpopa and the Sherab of Sherab Gyaltsen. As usual he has not shown the source from where he got this name (Stearn 1999:11-39, Lhair Gyal mTsen 1971:15-19, Chos 1580, KunsPangsPa:Cho:1962, Kapstein:1971:15-19, 1992:7-21, Roerich 1976: 745-777, Ruegg 1963:80-81, Erhard: 1993:23-39, Grol Chug 1507-1566:125 fol., dzad-pa and mKhenpo:trans. Chatopadhyaya 1993:100, 123, 199)

Page 71: The sketch he has given here with the caption "A Sa-skyia Lama" is worthless. It has nothing special to distinguish it from any average Tibetan or an average person from any of the Nepalese Himalayan ethnic group. The hat or cap he wears is not a special Sakya hat.

Page 72: Here he calls the Nyingma meditation thus: "Its mystic insight is Maha Utpanna (Dsog-Ch'en)". I have already given above the correct translation of Dzog Chen is 'Maha Sampanna' or "Maha Sandhi" or 'Maha Shanti'. Waddell writes, "Its tutelaries are 'The Fearful Vajra [Vajra = phurba] and Dubpa Kah-gye." In the footnote he calls Dubpa Kah-gye the tutelary deity of the Guru St. Padmasambhava (notice the singular noun 'the tutelary diety') First of all Vajra Kilaya (Tib. Dorje Phurba) is only one of the tutelary deities of the Nyingma. He calls it Vajra Phurba or the 'Fearful Vajra'. 'Dorje' is 'Vajra' and 'Phurba' is 'Kilaya'. None of the words mean

'Fearful' (The Fearful Vajra). Kilaya or Kila is a common Sanskrit term for nail or for nailing down. So Dorje Phurba / Vajra Kilaya could possibly be translated as 'Adamantine Nailer' but certainly not 'The Fearful Vajra'. He does not seem to know that the word 'Kah-gye' stands for a short name for eight different deities. 'Kah' means commandments (Sanskrit, Vachan) and 'gye' means eight. So it is a clear indication that he does not know what he is talking about when he calls the 'Kah gye [bKah-brgyad]' "a tutelary deity of St. Padmasambhava" as if it was one single deity (Dudjom 1991:475-483).

Page 73: Here Waddell writes that Guru Padmasambhava's Guru is the Kashmiri Sri Simha and Sri Simha's Guru is Garab Dorje. First of all Sri Simha was a Tibeto-Chinese born in Shokyam in China and not a Kashmiri. Secondly, Sri Simha's Guru is Manjushrimitra and not Garab Dorje. Garab Dorje (Sanskrit, Prahe Vajra is the Guru of Manjushrimitra and is from Uddiyana near Kashmir. Furthermore, the Dzog Chen Ati Yoga teachings of Sri Simha did not go to Tibet through Padmasambhava but through Sri Simha's disciple Vimalamitra (an Indian) who went to Tibet. Waddell is totally unaware of 3 different meditational lineages called Maha, Anu and Ati within the Nyingma lineage. Guru Padmasambhava transmitted the Maha Yoga lineage and his Guru for this lineage was Prabha Hasti and not Sri Simha. Furthermore, the main Guru of this Maha Yoga lineage is Humkara Vajra and not Garab Dorje. Humkara Vajra was a Brahmin of Evam Vihara of Nepal. Some people identify the place with E-Vihara of Patan today, but this is yet unproven (Dudjom 1991:475-501, Thondup 1984:13-35, Roerich 1949/1979:102-240).

Page 75: In this page Waddell claims, "In the four centuries succeeding the reformation, various sub-sects formed, mostly as relapses towards the old familiar demonolatry" [Para one]

"And since the fifteenth century AD, the several sects and sub-sects, while rigidly preserving their identity and exclusiveness, have drifted down towards a common level where the sectarian distinction tend to become almost nominal." [Para two]

"But neither in the essential of Lamaism itself, nor in its sectarian, aspects do the truly Buddhist doctrine, as taught by Sakya Muni play a leading part". [Para three]

On the contrary, Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya and Gelug history show that each sect has zealously and ardently attempted to maintain the purity of each sect. This period was marked by intense and often heated debate between the Sakya, Kagyu, Nyingma and Gelug as to what constituted the correct modes

of meditation and the correct view (Samyag Darshan) that came from India. There is a long history of very high level polemical debates for centuries between the Panditas of the various schools which continues even today amongst the refugees of Tibet. These debates and texts are well recorded and are of no less a standard than the debates between Dharmakirti (Buddhist) and Udyotkar or Kumaril Bhatta (Hindu). Waddell has completely missed the high standard of study continuing in the various lineages in Tibet continuing from Nalanda, Vikramashila, Odantapuri etc. He does not even seem to be aware of heated debates between Sakya Pandita, Gorampa of the Sakya on the one hand and Tsong Khapa, Khedrup etc. of the Gelug on the other hand and Mipham of the Nyingma on the one hand and Mikyo Dorje etc. of the Kagyu on the other hand, the heat of which is still felt in the Sakya, Kagyu, Nyingma and Gelug colleges outside Tibet amongst the refugees.

Waddell seems to have mistaken the Chopen [Chos dPon] (Pujari) as the whole and sole representative of his "Lamaism", and he is completely ignorant of the fact that at the time he wrote, over 5000 students were studying the philosophy of Nagarjuna, the Abhidharma Kosha of Vasubandhu the Pramana Vartika of Dharmakirti, one of the world's greatest logicians in all history, in just one college called Sera in Tibet. There were many such colleges dotting the Tibetan landscape from Ngari in the west to Kham in the East even while Waddell was writing this gross disclaimer of what he calls "Lamaism". He is not even aware that thousands of profound commentaries were being written even upto his time on profound Sutras and Sastras coming from India which contained all the teachings as taught by the Sakyamuni. For instance, the Bodhicharyavatara of Shantideva alone has more than a hundred commentaries in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition written by Tibetans throughout the centuries. The famous debate initiated by Sakya Pandita and continued between the Sakyapas on the one hand and the Kagyu and Nyingmapas on the other shows that great sensitivity was shown to maintaining the purity of lineages coming from India and great sensitivity was shown so that wrong types of Chinese meditations with uncertain pedigree do not get mixed up with the lineages. This, Waddell seems blissfully unaware of.

Besides the scholastic lineages which continued to spew out brilliant Panditas like Sakya Pandita, Gorampa, Rong Tong of the Sakya, Mipham, Rong Zom etc. of the Nyingma, Tsong Khapa, Khedrup, etc. of the (Gelug) and Rangjung Dorje, Mikyo Dorje, Pema Karpo etc. of the Kagyu, profound meditators in all lineages continued to meditate in caves scattered all over

Tibet for 6, 10, 12, 20 years or in some cases all their lives. These meditators and Siddhas were revered throughout the centuries by all Tibetans. And these meditators belong to all the schools each practicing the special style of Samatha-Vipassyana coming down through his/her lineage from Indian Siddhas of the past. Thousands continued to have deep realizations of the Buddha's teachings right up to the time of Waddell. And this meditative tradition continues even till today amongst the Tibetan refugees in Nepal, India and even in the West. Because Waddell based himself wholly and solely on Chopen type lamas and as all Pujas in the sects appear to look alike to an untrained mind, Waddell concluded that "all the sub-sects... have drifted down to a common level where the sectarian distinctions tend to become almost nominal". An untrained Nepali would say the same thing if he attended a Catholic and Protestant Sunday Mass.

From Page 169-185: He talks of the Great Monastic learning homes like Sera, but again he seems to be unaware of the scholastic curriculum. The curriculum he has given is again of a Chopen type and not of the scholar. He talks about debates, but does not know what they debate about. At the time of Waddell what went on inside Tibet was limited to the tourist eye-view of a few Europeans who managed to enter Tibet. Very few actual Tibetan texts or commentaries were yet translated into European languages. The only two that Waddell has as reference were the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara* the *Gyache Rolpa* and *The History of Indian Buddhism* by Taranath, both translated first into German. An analysis of Waddell's bibliography shows no actual Tibetan works but rather a predominance of works of Anglo-German school of Buddhist studies which were based solely on Pali studies. So, Waddell thinks that the Pali tradition is the pure Buddhism of Sakyamuni and any deviation found from the Pali literature is a deviation. I have already clarified how this concept is mistaken. The curriculum given by Waddell in page 174 and 183 are all different types of Pujas. As I mentioned, he is not aware of the curriculum of Sutras and Sastras at all. The curriculum of the Sakya institutions consisted of the following: Trichen 1983:27.

The Sakyapas divided the explanation (Byakhya) and study of treatises on the Tripataka into the following six sections:

- 1) Paramita (The Way of Perfection), which comprise "The Five Dharmas of Maitreya" viz. (1) The Abhisamaya Alankara, (2) The Sutra Alankara, (3) The Madhyanta Vibhanga, (4) The

- Dharma-Dharmata Vibhanga, (5) Uttaratantra and in addition the Bodhicharyavatara of Shantideva.
- 2) Pramana (Logic and Epistemology), which comprise the Pramana Samuccaya of Dignaga, the Pramana Varttika of Dharmakirti, the Pramana Vinischaya of Dharmakirti, and Pramana Yuktinidhi of Sakya Pandita.
 - 3) Vinaya (Monastic Law) which comprises of Pratimoksha Sutra and the Vinaya Sutra of Gunaprabha.
 - 4) Abhidharma, which comprises the Abhidharma Kosha of Vasubandhu and Abhidharma Samuccaya of Asanga.
 - 5) Madhyamaka (Middle Way), which comprises the Mulamadhyamaka Karika of Nagarjuna, the Madhyamakavatara of Chandrakirti and the Chatushataka of Aryadeva.
 - 6) Trisamvaraprabheda (Discriminating of the Three Vows) of Sakya Pandita.

This was being studied in Sakya learning houses like Nalendra etc. at the time of Waddell and is still studied in the Sakya College in Dehradun today.

And the same curriculum minus the Pramana group and the Trisamvaraprabheda were studied in Nyingma and Kagyu institutions at the time of Waddell and is still studied in Nyingma and Kagyu institutions in Nepal and India (Norbu 1986:167).

In the Gelug tradition too, the same Sakya curriculum minus the Trisamvaraprabheda, which is the Sakya specialty, are called the "Five Great Texts" (Pancha Maha Sastra), and these were studied from 20-25 years in the big monastic universities like Sera, Ganden, Drepung in the time of Waddell and is still continued in India today. (Gyatso 1987:30).

The rest of the book is no different in quality and standard from the first 75 pages that I have analyzed. It is astonishing to see that the Culture Department of Tribhuvan University still recommends such a totally misleading book as Waddell's. Some well known Nepali scholars have even quoted this masterpiece of a blunderbuss to authenticate their writings while others have further quoted this first writer in what the Buddha would have called "Andhavenuparampara" i.e. the blind leading the blind [Pradhan 2044 BS and Khatri 2054 BS:13 and others]. This issue becomes more sensitive when it is understood that what Waddell is misinforming about is also directly related to the culture of the entire Nepalese Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions and indirectly related to the Newar Culture. I do not

see how Nepalese professors think Waddell's book as a recommendable book when he calls 'Dem Chog', which is Chakrasamyara, the main practice of the Buddhist Newars, a "poly-demonic practice". No wonder Geoffrey Samuel (1995:11) calls Waddell's book a crude caricature. Some scholars remark that 'Samvara' is a name of an Asura in the Vedic literature. There are a couple of points here. First of all, this is a proof that the Vedics called all non-Aryan deities as Asuras (unless they had been integrated). That does not make 'Samvara' a Rakshasa. Secondly, there is no proof that this 'Samvara' is the same as the 'Samvara' in Sri Chakrasamvara. The equation is unwarranted without further proof. Thirdly, even if it were the same 'Samvara' it only proves that the deities used by Buddhist Tantriks were non-Vedic, non-Aryans (probably Sramanic); it does not prove that 'Samvara' is actually a demon but rather that the Vedic called it a 'demon' because it was not their 'Deva'. In that case (assuming the above to be correct), Buddhist Tantra is totally non-Hindu influenced. Fourthly, that 'Samvara' is called Asura in Veda does not validate Waddell's Christian idea that therefore Chakrasamvara etc. are 'demons', but probably Waddell had no idea of all this anyway. And last of all any word, symbol or metaphor has the value, meaning and sense given to it by its users or practitioners or culture. They can have value and meaning only within such a context. Because of this, the same word-sound, symbol or metaphor can have different values, meanings and sense attached to them by different cultures, systems. A very innocuous word in one language-culture can have a very coarse-erotic connotation in another language-culture. It is astonishingly naive therefore to conclude that the first language-culture is a sexually oriented language-culture. In the same way a metaphor symbolizing devilry and 'poly-demonist' ideas in one cultural paradigm can actually have the value of an angel attached to it in another cultural paradigm. No one culture has the copyrights to any metaphor and the meaning-value attached to it. According to Jungian psychology, "No individual symbolic image can be said to have a dogmatically fixed generalised meaning" (Jung 1964:30). We cannot therefore take the Sri Chakrasamvara or Kalachakra of the Buddhist Vajrayana and assume that the Buddhist practitioners of Vajrayana give these metaphors the same value, the same meaning, the same connotation as the Vedic or the Christian would give to the same metaphor. The connotation and implication of those who equate the Vedic and Christian metaphor-values with the Buddhist metaphor-values is that the Vajrayana Buddhists know, take, believe and understand that Sri Chakrasamvara etc. is a demon and worship him as a

demon. This shows an abject insensitivity to other cultural norms than one's own.

In the Buddhist Tantric texts, Sri Chakrasamvara, Kalachakra etc. are called 'Devatideva', 'Bhagawan' etc. and not 'Daitya' or 'Rakshasa' or 'Asura'. And this is the meaning-value attached to these metaphors by those who use or practice it. For instance, the 'Sri Hevajra Tantra' begins with "Evam maya srutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavan....etc.". A metaphor that symbolizes compassion (Sunnyata Karunabhinnam Hevajranatham Namayahma), Maitri, freedom of Klesha, defeating of Mara (Hevajraya namastubhyam maramayapramardiney) cannot and should not by any cultural standards be considered as 'poly-demonic'; even if similar metaphor are used in other cultures and systems as a symbol of 'demonship'.

Today, thousands of Western scholars like Prof. Robert Thurman, Prof. Jeffery Hopkins, Prof. Herbert Guenther, Dr. Elizabeth Napper, Professor Mathew Kapstein Dr. David Stott etc. find those same 'poly-demonic practices' as one of the most subtly profound psychological methods to achieve integration of the mind i.e. freeing the mind from Klesha. As it is Buddhism is generally misunderstood by the Hindu populace of Nepal and India. Swami Vivekananda once admitted, "We Hindus never understood it" (Vivekananda 1965:3rd Vol.: 528-529). We do not need Waddell to create more misunderstanding.

I would like to end this emic critique of Waddell's book by quoting a few, lines from Radmilla Moacanin, a practicing psychotherapist of the Jungian school in Los Angeles which was written 100 years after Waddell on Tibetan Buddhism, which is a sort of critique of Waddell's interpretation and conclusion of Tibetan Buddhism or 'Lamaism' as he called it. "It could be said that the aim of Buddhist Tantra is to penetrate into, harness, and transform the dynamic forces of the universe, which are no different from the psychological forces and archetypal constellations of our own psyche. But this cannot be done through the exercise of discursive thought or application of abstract theories but only by being deeply immersed in actual practices. Due to the enormous wealth of these practices, Tantra has given rise to much misunderstandings and misconceptions. In the Western world it has often been equated with magic (Waddell's sorcery) and exotic sexual practices." (Moacanin 1986:17).

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LANGUAGE POLITICS IN NEPAL

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Introduction

The worldwide process of democratization, the recent global thrust on human rights, peace and participatory democracy, the politics of foreign aid, the growing number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and several other factors have affected politics of language in Nepal. Politics in general term is the study of interactions, actions and reactions among individuals, between individuals and groups, and between groups and larger community what we call nation-state. As language is a voluntary vocal system of communication between individuals and individuals and between individuals and groups and socio-cultural phenomena, politics, being a part of the entire social system, does not remain unaffected by linguistic environment. Language and politics are closely related to one another and the former is one of the determining factors of the latter. Language is a powerful tool by which politicians transmit political conception, and symbols of political power, ideologies and values. It is equally important medium of interest articulation, aggregation and communication, from society to polity and polity to society thereby affecting decision making process. During the election, political leaders who express their views clearly in the public gatherings can garner more votes and popular support than those who cannot. Political leaders can manipulate ideas through language and can attract the voters towards their political ideologies and beliefs. As language is a powerful means of political communication, the choice of words by political leaders largely reflects their attitudes, style, capacity, vision and performance. Language is also related with leadership pattern which is a quality that signifies the ability of a person or a group of people to persuade and force others to act or not to act by inspiring them and making them believe and not to believe that a proposed course of action is

the best or correct one. (Robertson, 1993:275–276). Language, as Michael West (1926) sees, is “the most powerful component of group individuality.” (Fishman 1983:129) Language is the most powerful factor in bringing the elite and the masses together for strengthening social and national integration. It makes a scientific and technical knowledge easily accessible to the people in their own languages and, thus, helps in the process of democratization, acculturation and socialization as well as for the creation of new political and scientific outlook (Khuller, 1995:112–124). The political interpretation of language is, in most sense has been considered, “a contest over words, a language game” (McLean, 1996:274).

Language Politics: Concept and Context

In to-day's globalized world, language politics has become an universal phenomenon and has become a quite fashionable terms which denotes the relationship between the languages and politics and the influence of the former to the latter. In order to understand the entire political process and structure, it is essential to study which language citizens utilize for their overall development. The recognition of a particular language in a civil and political society is an important aspect of the legitimatization of a particular culture, values, norms, belief, history and a lot of socio-economic and political factors. In a case where language is politically relevant, minorities of an ethnic or linguistic group is suppressed by the majority groups. The minorities generally perceive the dominant language group as alien. In the Third World countries, which were being colonialized by Western powers, to speak the language of the rulers is a practical difficulty and essentially a symbol of political domination and unfreedom. As language defines opportunities and social mobility, speech communities have become important centres for the focusing of revolutionary or at least protest politics in the most modern societies. Linguistic cleavages, like class and religion, have become the most important source of “*identity politics*” and the politics that underlies in modern political movements in most of the countries, particularly Belgium, Romania, Spain, the UK, and the former Yugoslavia. Language politics has become more pronounced in the Third World countries because it has become an important factor in national integration and national unity. But national unity and integration sometimes could be achieved by the common use of a foreign language, particularly the language of the former imperialist powers in some colonialized countries. (Robertson, 1993:273-274) Due to the multiplicity of the speech communities in India, Indian Constitution makers included Hindi as the national and English as the auxiliary language at least for fifteen years and

intended to standardize Hindi all over India. But India failed to do that and both English and Hindi are equally used as language of official business. In most of the modern societies, language politics is sometimes deeply "resented by residents of the relevant language area who have accepted political assimilation with speakers of the dominant tongue, which is supposed to be the standard language and the *lingua franca* in most parts of the state, and who regard adherence to the indigenous language as atavistic or even merely nostalgic". Language politics is an important area of study because human thoughts, views, and conflicts are reflected and restricted by language. It would be more rational to define "political culture around language than most other cleavage patterns and this may account for the virulence of language-group politics" (Robertson 1993:274).

The purity of language, as Schlesinger (1995:442) asserts, is under unrelenting attack from every side including professors, politicians, and newspapermen. "Politics in basic aspect is a symbolic and therefore a linguistic phenomenon. Social fluidity, moral pretension political and literary demagoguery, corporate and academic, bureaucratization and a false conception of democracy are leading us into semantic chaos." Every political movement generates its own language fields. Language field legitimizes one set of motives, values and ideals and banishes the rest. Language reflects the existing socio-economic and political environment and conditions of a particular nation-state. Special correlation between politics and debasement of language has been clearly pointed out by the linguists. Modern Political writings and language are supposed to be bad. "In our times", as George Orwell (1985:42-436) argues "it is broadly true that political writing is bad writing. Where it is not true, it will generally be found that the writer is some kind of rebel, expressing his/her private opinions and not a "party line". The political dialects to be found in pamphlets, leading articles, manifestos, white papers and the speeches of undersecretaries do, of course, vary from party to party but they are all alike in that one almost never finds than a fresh, vivid, home-made turn of speech. When one watches some tired hack on the platform mechanically repeating the familiar phrases." "The desire for success at the polls has sentimentalized and cheapened the language of politics," thus worsening the quality of language. "The corruption of individuals is followed by the corruption of language. When simplicity of character and the sovereignty of ideas is broken up by the prevalence of secondary desires, the desire of riches, of pleasure, of power and of praise.... words are perverted to stand for things which are not" (Schlesinger, 1985:437-450) Political factors are responsible for the rise and fall of languages. It is believed that the overall corruption in the governmental machinery may lead to corruption in the field of language also. "The German, Russian and Italian

languages, have all deteriorated in the last ten or fifteen years as a result of dictatorship. But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. A bad usage can spread by tradition and imitation and among people who should and do not know better" (Orwell, 1985:420-436).

The choice of language by a state or nation in these days becomes an important but most controversial political issue which is most often tied to elements of nationalism. Languages in most of nation states are allocated either officially or unofficially in terms of the functions they serve in the state or nation where they are used in a particular content or situation (Eastman: 1983: 5). In order to study the politics of language in a nation state it would be essential to study some of the important linguistic concepts, such as speech communities, nationalism, nation, people, varieties of languages, etc. that affect the politics of a nation. Modern linguistics advocate that language is closely interrelated with society and social factors, such as class, caste, sex, social context, geography and so on (Trudgil 1976). Language always interacts with nationality, ethnic groups and several other social factors. Socio-linguistics, often known as "Sociology of language" as its alternative name, in particular, tries to explore and comprehend the study of the structure and use of language in its social and cultural contexts: explores its socio cultural values, studies all aspects of the relationship between language and society and "matters as the linguistic identity of social groups, social attitudes of language, standard non standard forms of language, the patterns and needs of national language use, social varieties levels of language, the social basis of multi-lingualism and so on." (Crystal 1985: 81-282). In short, its studies all aspects of the relationship between language and society (Rai 1995). Language has sometimes been held to be the altogether essential axis of nationality conflicts, it is worth stressing that linguism is not an inevitable outcome of linguistic diversity. As indeed kinship, race and other factors, language differences need not in themselves to be particularly divisive. Region, religion, custom and other factors are closely associated with it (Geertz, 1994:29-34).

Language functions or situations can be classified into ten categories that exist in multilingual settings. These ten types of language situations or options of language choice, classified by type of language, was first set forth in 1951 in an UNESCO Report on the use of vernacular languages in education. As outline in the report, (1) Indigenous language is the language of the original inhabitants of an area; (2) *Lingua Franca* is a language which is a means of common communication among the various linguistics groups; (3) Mother Tongue is the language one acquires as a child; (4) National

language is a language of a political, social and cultural entity; (5) Pidgin is a language formed by mixing various languages used regularly by people of various linguistic backgrounds; (6) Official language is a language used in governmental transactions; (7) Regional language is a common language of the people living in a particular area having various linguistic backgrounds; (8) Second language is a language acquired besides first language; (9) Vernacular language is the first language of a linguistic group which is socially or politically dominated by a group having different language; and (10) World language is a global language used for wider communication (UNESCO 1951: 689-690; Eastman 1983: 5-6).

Scholars like Orwell have beautifully presented a vision of a society in which the state exercises effective control over people, through deliberate manipulation of language, by introducing a turgidly jargonistic form of language. Most politicians invariably try to manipulate people through their use of language and engage in double speak" linguists have even used satirical words on political propaganda and speechifying" (Mc lean, 1996: 274-275). "Language is a hugely important dimension of politics. The political dimension of language raises complex and, ultimately, mysterious questions. Questions of culture, identity and manipulative power are inseparable from linguistic structures." It is, however, essential to be alert in the simplification or generalization about language and politics and always remain aware that language in most sense is not separate from political reality but part of that reality existing in most modern societies (Mclean, 1996: 274-275).

Linguistic and Socio-cultural Milieu of Nepal

In order to understand the language politics, it would be pertinent to make a bird's eye view of the linguistic and socio-cultural milieu in Nepal. Nepal is one of the small, landlocked and the poorest countries of the world having limited economic capability. It is a multi lingual, multi racial, multi ethnic, and multi cultural pluralistic society. It is a multi religious society where the majority Hindus (86.51%) are followed by Buddhists (7.78%), Islam (3.53%), Kiranti (1.72%), Christian (0.17%), Jain (0.04%) and other (0.14%) (CBS, 1996:18). Cultural heterogeneity and linguistic plurality are closely related in Nepalese society (Bista 1967 and 1991). While studying the language politics in Nepal, the important dimension of socio-linguistic reality should not be underestimated. The socio-cultural gap, that is prevailing in distribution of power among the small number of urbanized politically and economically dominant groups, is well pronounced, particularly Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars (Dahal and Subba 1986:240). The linguistic and ethnic groups of Nepal as outlined in government statistics are as follows:

Total Population by Mother Tongue for Nepal 1991

S.N.	Mother Tongue	Total Population
01.	Nepali	93,02,880
02.	Maithili	21,91,900
03.	Bhojpuri	13,79,717
04.	Newari	6,90,007
05.	Gurung	2,2,918
06.	Tamang	9,04,456
07.	Abadhi	3,74,638
08.	Tharu	9,93,388
09.	Magar	4,30,264
10.	Limbu	2,54,088
11.	Rai/Kirati	4,39,312
12.	Sherpa	1,21,819
13.	Thakali	7,113
14.	Rajbansi	85,558
15.	Sataar	25,302
16.	Danuwar	23,721
17.	Santhal	8,030
18.	Hindi	1,70,997
19.	Urdu	2,02,208
20.	Chepang	25,097
21.	Thami	14,400
22.	Gengali	27,712
23.	Majhi	11,322
24.	Dhimal	15,014
25.	Jhangar	15,175
26.	Marwadi	16,514
27.	Kumhale	1,413
28.	Darai	6,520
29.	Jirel	4,229
30.	Byanshi	1,314
31.	Raji	2,959
32.	English	2,784
33.	Other Local Languages	4,95,862
34.	Other Foreign Languages	8,309
35.	Not Stated	9,157
Total Population		17,82,107

Source: HMG Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) 1996, 19-20.

Population by Caste/Ethnic Group for Nepal 1991

S.N.	Caste/Ethnic Groups	Total Population
01.	Yadav/Ahir	7,65,127
02.	Kayastha	53,545
03.	Kumhar	72,008
04.	Bania	1,01,868
05.	Dhobi	76,594
06.	Sudhi/Kalwar	1,62,046
07.	Kurmi	1,66,718
08.	Brahman (Tarai)	1,62,886
09.	Rajput	55,712
10.	Tharu	11,94,224
11.	Teli	2,50,732
12.	Kushwha	2,05,797
13.	Muslim	6,53,055
14.	Haluwai	44,417
15.	Mallah	1,10,413
16.	Rajbanshi	82,177
17.	Dhimal	16,781
18.	Gangain	22,526
19.	Marwadi	29,173
20.	Bengali	7,909
21.	Dahnuk	1,36,944
22.	Shikh	9,292
23.	Dhusadh	93,242
24.	Chamar	2,03,919
25.	Khatway	66,612
26.	Musahar	1,41,980
27.	Kewat	1,01,482
28.	Rajbhar	33,433
29.	Ranu	70,634
30.	Others (Tarai)	6,27,514
31.	Brahman (Hill)	23,88,455
32.	Chhetri	2968,082
33.	Thakuri	2,99,473
34.	Sanyasi	181,726
35.	Newar	10,41,090

36.	Limbu	2,97,186
37.	Rai	5,25,551
38.	Gurung	4,49,189
39.	Thakali	13,731
40.	Tamang	10,18,252
41.	Magar	13,39,308
42.	Danuwar	50,754
43.	Jirel	4,889
44.	Majhi	55,050
45.	Sunuwar	40,943
46.	Gaine	4,484
47.	Chepang	36,656
48.	Kumal	76,635
49.	Churoute	1,778
50.	Bote	6,718
51.	Lepcha	4,826
52.	Raute	2,878
53.	Darai	10,759
54.	Raji	3,274
55.	Thami	19,103
56.	Damai	3,67,989
57.	Kami	9,63,655
58.	Sarki	2,76,224
59.	Wadi	7,082
60.	Others (Hill)	1,84,216
61.	Sherpa	1,10,358
62.	Bhote	12,463
63.	Others (Mountain)	1,741
64.	NoCaste (Foreigners)	2,951
65.	Not Stated	4,858
Total		2,886,385

Source: CBS, 1996

Linguistic Profile of Nepal: Regarding the number of languages spoken in Nepal, there is no uniformity among the official and unofficial statistics. The individual and non-governmental researches reveal that there are more than 70 languages whereas the official statistics put the number different in different periods: 36 in 1952-54 population census, 17 in 1971, 18 in 1981 and 19 in 1991. The contestability of the government statistics/data and the lack of reliable linguistic survey have further created confusions providing scope to

those interested in language politics. The languages spoken in Nepal (except Kusunda) are said to belong to four major language families: Austro-Asiatic, Dravidians, Tibeto-Burman, and Indo-Aryan (Yadav 1996: 233-239). There are altogether half a dozen writing system/scripts in contemporary languages of Nepal out of which Devanagari is the most commonly used script. Nepali and few other languages are written in this script. The genetic affiliation of Kusunda is yet to be identified (Yadav, 1996: 233-239). The various mother tongues spoken in Nepal can be classified as 14 Indo-Aryan, 20 Tibeto-Burman and one each of the Munda and Dravidan families. The proportion of the population speaking Indo-Aryan language has increased from 77.5% in 1952/54 to 80% in 1991, while the figure for Tibeto-Burman speakers has declined from 21.9% to 17% during the same period. The number of Nepali speakers more than doubled from 4 million to 9.3 million during 1952/54-1991 (Gurung 1997:495-532).

Attempts have been made to classify the Nepalese into "the communities that largely use languages or dialects of Sino-Tibetan family who belong to or are believed in general to have originated from the Mongolian racial stock; the dominant ruling castes of Brahmans and Kshatriyas of Indo-Aryan origin, who live largely in the hills and speak Nepali as their vernacular; as lastly, the people who live in the plains of the South and had either migrated from India in the last two centuries to the Tarai or were living there as autochthons (of Austric-Dravidian Origin) and speak dialects of the Southern region" (Aditya, 1991:2). Nepali language, as the *lingua franca* developed in Nepal for the last five hundred years, serves as a link language among different communities including people from Kumaon Garwal of present day India in the West to Assam and Bhutan in the East. The language has, thus, been meeting the contemporary communication and development requirements of these societies (D.R. Dahal, 1998:4).

Nepali language has its unique and distinctive characteristics. Language is attuned to the expression of status and power. The use of various words for the various classes to indicate the same meaning is one of its features. The stratification of Nepali pronouns into *Ta*, *Timi*, *Tapain*, *Yanha/Aafu*, (*oneself*) *Hajur* and *Mausuf* for the functional use for the English equivalent *you* has greater impact in the socio-political process of Nepal (Adhikari, 1993: 66-67). Politically speaking, the Nepali pronouns *Ta*, generally used for people in the low status for the powerless people and *Timi* is used for the people for both equal and lower status. The pronoun, *Tapain* is used for the respectable superiors and *Yanha/Aafu* is the most honorific pronoun used for

the people. *Hajur* is synonymous to mostly power elites and *Mausuf*, or *Mausuf-Sarkar*, is used for His Majesty the King, the Queen, the crown prince and the members of the royal family. These five honorific pronouns in Nepali, thus, might be interpreted politically as one showing no respect (*Ta*), one showing some degree of respect (*Timi*), one showing high degree of respect (*Tapain*), one showing special respect (*Yahan/Aafu*), and the last two (*Hajur* and *Mausuf*) showing the highest level of respect. This linguistic stratification has led to the class distinction and political and social inequality in Nepalese society.

The dialects of Nepali are classified on the basis of the geographic region where the people speak that languages. The *Para Paschima*, (Far Western), *Magha Paschima* (Mid Western), *Wore Paschima* (Near Western), *Majhali* (Central), and *Purvelli* (Eastern) are its principal dialects and sub-dialects. Out the these, the Eastern dialect is broadly spoken and, thus, extends from Dailekha, Jajarkot and Salyan districts of Nepal upto Bhutan, Aasam and Burma in the East. (Pokharel, 2048 VS:45-72 and Sijapati: 2041 VS) As local languages in Nepal are often divided by dialect, it, as Gellner (1997:20) views, "often happens that two members of the same ethnic group prefer to speak Nepali to each other either to increase comprehensibility or to avoid the status implications of specific dialects." The acceptance of Nepali language by the Nepalese people is based on a number of considerations, such as common cultural background, as an accessory to sustain livelihood, for state patronage, and or regional comprehensives. (Gautam 1991:129-131) The potential of Nepali language to integrate the society, thus, seems enormous but its actual capacity to homogenize different cultures is doubted (Dahal, 1998:4). The national language for a nation-state is selected on various grounds and it has several unique characteristics. It is an effective medium of interactions among different linguistic groups, and is flexible. It tries to maintain political neutrality; ensures social justice; and is rich in functional specialization. It works as the official and working language, medium of instruction, link language, and so on.

On the basis of the linguistic surveys so far conducted, the languages spoken in Nepal belong to various (linguistic) families. Languages, as Gurung (1998:59-93) opines, vary widely in their retention. Bengali and Rajbanshi report more speakers than the population of their social groups. Satar, as some linguists point out, is the only language that belongs to Asiatic family group. It is spoken by the Satars of Jhapa district in East Nepal. Satar and Santhal, as some linguistic groups point out, are the same

languages spoken by the Satar and Santhal linguistic communities but the Census Report of 1991 considers these languages as different ones. Nearly 25,392 people are the speakers of Satar and 8030 as the speakers of Santhal. Except the collection of few words by the Royal Nepal Academy (RNA), no important work has been done in these languages. Besides Satar, Dhimal, Meche, Raji and all the languages within Rai-Kiranti group belong to Asiatic family (Pokharel: 2022, 2021, 2043, Gautam: 2049, 95-196). Several languages like Tamil, Telugu, Konnad, Malayalam and Brahuc in India belong to Dravidian group but Jhangar is the only language that belongs to this group in Nepal. As Jhangar is spoken in the central Tarai, it is highly influenced by two other important languages of this region—Bhojpuri and Maithili. The total number of speakers of this language, according to the 1991 Population Census, is 15,975 (CBS, 1996:20).

Several important languages spoken in Nepal's Southern plains like Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Danuwar, Majhi, Awadhi, Rajbanshi, Darai, Kumal and Bote and three more languages—Hindi, Urdu and Marwari, as mentioned in the 1991 Census Report, belong to Indo-Aryan group. Maithili, the second largest language after Nepali, is mostly spoken in the Mithila region, particularly in the present-day Sarlahi, Mahotari, Dhanusa, Siraha, Saptari and Morang Districts. It has its own script, popularly known as *Mathilakshar* or *Tirahuta* but these days it is written in *Devnagari* script. Maithili spoken in present Dhanusa district of Nepal is considered as the standard one and its dialects are also classified on the basis of the geographic region where the people speak it. Maithili spoken in Sarlahi, Mahotari, Siraha, Saptari and Morang are its principle dialects (Yadav 2054). *Bhojpuri*, the major language of two adjoining Indian states of Bihar and UP, is the third largest language of Nepal and is mostly spoken in the districts of central Tarai—Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Nawalparasi and Chitwan. Its social and geographical dialects are yet to be explored. Its total number of speakers is 13,79,717 (CBS 1996:19). *Tharu*, the next to Bhojpuri, is spoken by the Tharu community (993388), one of the indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal in the Southern plains from Mechi in the East to Mahakali in the West. *Awadhi*, the major language of Northern India, is mostly spoken in the Rupandehi, Banke, Bardia and Kapilvastu districts of Nepal. Very few researches have been done in this language. *Danuwar*, also considered as the branch of Tharu by some linguists, is the language of the Danuwar Community living in the Eastern Inner Tarai, Sinduli and in the banks of the Tributary rivers of Koshi and Gandaki. *Majhi* is the language of the Majhi

community (fisherman) which is mostly found in the tributary rivers of Koshi and Gandaki. Nearly 11,322 people are supposed to be its speakers. *Darai* is mostly spoken in Palpa, Tanahu and Chitwan districts and its total speakers according to 1991 Census is 6520. *Kumhale* is the language of the Kumhale (the earth-pot makers) ethnic groups, and is spread in various parts of the country. It is believed that nearly 3000 speakers of this language live in Palpa only (Gautam 2049; Poudel 2041 VS). A linguistic research reveals that nearly 1500 speakers of Bote language live in Palpa, Tanahu, Gulmi, Parbat, Baglung, and Syanja (Paudyal: 2041).

The important Tibeto-Burman Language of Nepal are: (1) Newari, (2) Thami; (3) Chepang; (4) Tamang; (5) Magarati; (6) Gurung; (7) Sherpa; (8) Thakali; (9) Jirel; (10) Byasi; (11) Hayu (12) Dhimal; (13) Meche; (14) Raji; (15) Kagate; (16) Murmi; (17) Pahari; (18) Kusunda; (19) Lepcha; (20) Ghale; (21) Manang; (22) Raute; (23) Dura; (24) Kham; (25) Tichhurong; (26) Dolpa; (27) Tibetan (28) Lhoke; and (29) Kaiké. Rai-Karti language also falls in Tibeto-Burman Family group which include: (1) Limbu; (2) Aathapaharia; (3) Belahara; (4) Chhintang; (5) Mugali; (6) Fangduwali; (7) Yakkhya; (8) Yamphe; (9) Southern Loring; (10) Northern Loring; (11) Puma; (12) Chamling; (13) Dungmali; (14) Kulunga; (15) Nechhring; (16) Chhukwa; (17) Sangpang; (18) Mewohang; (19) Pongyong; (20) Bantawa; (21) Khalinga; (22) Dumi; (23) Koyu; (24) Sunuwar; (25) Bahinga; (26) Gerunga; (27) Churasya; (28) Tilunga; (29) Thulung and (30) Lingkhum (Gautam 2049 VS). Newari, the mother tongue of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, has several dialects as spoken in Dolakha, Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur, Banepa and other parts of the country. As one of the developed language of the Tibeto-Burman family, it has its own script, though it is written in Devnagari script in these days. Newari spoken in Bhaktapur, Kirtipur, Patan (Lalitpur), Banepa, Dhulikhel and Dolakha are its Principal dialects. *Magarati* is spoken by the Magars of Gandaki region, Palpa, Peuthan, Gulmi, Kaski, Salyan and Baglung districts of Nepal and non-Gandaki region. It has several dialects including the two important ones spoken in the East of and West of Gulmi districts (Gautam, 2049:203).

Language Politics in Nepal

In order to study the role or influence of language/s in Nepalese politics, it would be appropriate to study how the rulers of Nepal, since the process of unification was started in 1742 by King Prithivi Narayan Shah, have behaved

the language/s of Nepal in particular. Nepali language had played important role in the unification of Nepal. The inhabitants of Gorkha welcomed Drabya Shah as their king simply because they no longer wanted to Magar kings to be continued in power. The majority Nepali-speaking community and Khasa rulers/*Rajas* of the small principalities, i.e. *Vaises* and *Chaubises* voluntarily and psychologically accepted the dominance of Khas culture and Nepali language under Gorkha rule of King Prithivi Narayan Shah (1722-1775) who gave protection to Nepali language. The Khas speakers felt the feeling of security within the Gorkha Empire. But after Kathmandu valley became the capital of the entire unified Nepal (after the unification of the three kingdoms of Kathmandu valley in 1768) Newari language was also recognized as one of the dominant languages of Nepal. In the post-unification days, the Shah rulers wanted to strengthen Nepali language, and gave special protection to it, which was not accorded to other languages. Linguistically and culturally speaking, the Shahs (1722-1846) and the Ranas (1846-1950) gave special protection to Nepali language and encouraged its modernization and standardization, undermining the rest of the languages of Nepal. During the Rana period, the standardization of literatures, dictionary preparation/making and codification in Nepali were encouraged and *Nepali Bhasa Prakashini Samiti* (Nepali Language Publicity Committee) performed important works in this direction and Nepali, thus, received special protection. With the introduction of multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1951, Nepali continued to play dominant role both in governmental and non-governmental levels. Hindi also played the same role in Nepal's southern plains, Tarai where it became the means of instruction in most of the schools and colleges until 1957. Hindi as a separate discipline was also studied in language groups besides Nepali, Newari and English in educational institutions. Between 1981 and 1991 the share of Nepali speaking population suffered a sharp drop and the number of vernacular identifiers have increased significantly in all language groups. There is an obvious element of alienation from the traditional mode of accepting Nepali silently as a vernacular. Nepali has remained the *lingua franca* for majority of the population and all ethnic groups. But among the various traditional ethnic groups only a majority of Magars has identified Nepali as their vernacular. All other linguistic groups have retained their indigenous language as vernacular. (Aditya 1996:69-95) Nepali is a language of inter-communications, of publication, and of governmental communication

(Radio, Television, Post Office, Tele-Communication). It is a standard, state and national language (Sharma and Baral 2055:103-115).

After 1950 various linguistic communities tried to uplift their languages. Hindi in Tarai and Newari in Kathmandu Valley took the leading roles. During 1951-1960, these languages enjoyed absolute freedom, though K.I. Singh Government in 1957 ordered the removal of other languages from school instruction except Nepali (however, some optional languages were prescribed in school curriculum including Ph.D research). With the dissolution of the first democratically elected government in 1960 and with the introduction of the Panchayat system in 1962 under King Mahendra, the concepts of Nepali nationalism/Nepalism and "one nation, one political system" emerged in which Nepali language became the part. In course of inculcating oriental nonparty culture, politics and linguistic sentiments went side by side and linguistic issues remained highly related political issues. The Panchayati rulers never accepted Nepal as the multi lingual society, and never considered language as national property. Language actually was not studied in linguistic sense but strictly in socio-political sense. In the name of national integration, the process of Nepalization was launched since 1960. It tried to Panchayatize the language, culture, and ethnicity. The non-party political system (1962-1989) discouraged other cultural and linguistic sentiments and no investment on development of language was made. The Royal Nepal Academy (RNA) and very few research institutes conducted intellectual researches for the study and survey of languages. Till its alleged involvement in assisting the Tibetans in their revolutionary Free Tibet movement, the US-based Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) conducted linguistic researches on languages on eastern part of Nepal. As the concept of democratic pluralism was not encouraged in politics, philosophy and in language, the non-party Panchayat politicians used Nepali as a lingua franca, as a medium for the expression of political views and desires.

Though Article 10 of the 1962 Panchayati Constitution had provided the Nepalese citizens the right to equality, it did not specify about linguistic equality (HMG 1962:6). It, under Article 4, has given Nepali language the status of national language mentioning nothing about other languages. During 1962-1989, it became the medium of instruction, of media, of parliamentary debates, of deliberations, of the court, etc. Derecognition of local languages, thus, remained the linguistic feature during the Panchayat period. The New Education Plan (NEP), introduced in 1971, discouraged other languages except Nepali as the medium of instruction in schools, however,

some local languages including Hindi and Newari were also prescribed as optional subjects including high level research. The Marich Man Singh Government derecognized the degree of MA in Hindi, Newari and Maithili as a basis of promotion. Except Nepali and English, the Public Service Commission (PSC) recognized no other languages. The linguistic minorities charged the PSC, the government-owned *Sajha Prakashan* (SP) and Royal Nepal Academy (RNA) for not doing justice with their languages. Publication of Newspapers other than Nepali and English were also discouraged. Radio Nepal stopped the news broadcast in Hindi and Newari (Jha 1993:25).

Except the Hindi movement, advocated by G.N. Singh the leader of the then Nepal Sadhavana Parishad (NSP) and *Manka Khala* movement advocated by P.R. Tuladhar, Nepal faced no serious important language movements during the Panchayat period. The leaders of the languages movements, particularly Padma Ratna Tuladhar, Gajendra Narayan Singh and Ananda D. Bhatta, criticized the language policy of the Panchayat government and strongly demanded the implementation of liberal language policy giving equal protection to all the languages of the nation. But those personalities during the post *Jana Andolana* days turned into political activists that brought language and politics into closer ties.

With the dispensation of pluralistic democracy in Nepal in 1990 after the historic mass uprising and framing the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 thereafter, Nepal started adopting liberal language policy. The present constitution, under Art. 6, makes a clear distinction between the national language and languages of the nation. The national language, as mentioned in Art. 6 (i), of Nepal shall be Nepali in the Devanagari Script which shall be the official language. All the languages spoken as the mother tongues in the various parts of the Kingdom are considered as the languages of this nation. The Nepalese citizens, under the cultural and Educational Right (Art. 18), are given the right to protect and develop their language and script; and the right to establish schools for providing education to the children up to the primary level in their mother tongues (HMG 1992). The post 1990 governments also adopted liberal language policies. Soon after the formation of a multi party interim government in 1990, government owned Radio Nepal started its news broadcast in English, Hindi and Newari. In the post-1990 days, the democratically elected governments of Nepal tried to encourage the development and promotion of various languages of the nation. Radio Nepal started its news broadcast in few other local languages including in Magar and

Tamang. In order to encourage other local languages, the newly established Nepal Television (NTV) also started the production of some Tele-films on small screen in various local languages. Members of Parliament (MPs) have addressed in their own languages though the Parliament Rules, 1991 clearly mentions that Nepali should be the medium of expression and parliamentary deliberations. The Mayor of Kathmandu Municipal Corporation also took Oath in Newari. The publications of newspapers in various languages were also promoted and, accordingly, few more newspapers were also published in private sector. However, the government provided no additional facilities to them.

The Politics of Language Planning in Nepal

The study of language politics would be completely inadequate without the proper study of language planning, policy and programmes adopted by the various governments of Nepal. Language planning and policy, thus, are the important aspects of language politics. Language Planning is a subject of Applied socio-linguistics and "is a term used in socio-linguistics to refer to a systematic attempt to solve the communication problems of a community by studying the various languages or dialects it uses and developing a realistic policy concerning the selection and use of different languages" (Crystal: 1985: 174). It is a branch of socio linguistics which is a developing field that sees language as a social resource. Language requires planned action if it is to be used to its full potential. Language planning is done through the cooperative efforts of political, economic, educational and linguistic authorities. (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971; Eastman 1983: IX) The socio linguists advocated the idea of "language as a plannable societal resource" in the 1960's (Eastman 1983:X) but it is gaining currency in these days. Language policies are formulated, codified, elaborated, and implemented differently by different nation states. The formulation of a language policy is a process of deliberation and decision-making. A number of social, economic, and political factors of policy formulation are important in this direction. The main political deliberative factor in language policy formation is the goal of the body (the nation) formulating the policy. When a language policy is codified, the planners should remember that people in modern speech communities want their language "to be more than neat and trim and handy." They want it to be a reflection of who they are: who they have been as well as who they will be." (Eastman 1983:7; Fishman 1974: 15-33)

The Multi-lingual states of the world have adopted different strategies and policies in language planning. The Swiss model of language planning is considered by some linguistics as the best model in the world. The Swiss confederation has recognized four official languages-French, German, Italian and Romansh. According to 1990 census, 63.6 percent of the entire population has German as "native tongue", 19.2 percent French, 7.6 percent Italian, 0.6 percent Romansh, 8.9 percent miscellaneous; 19.9 percent Slavic languages, 1.7 percent Spanish, 1.4 percent Portuguese, 0.9 percent Turkish and 0.9 English (Rumantscha: 1996: 19-20). Out of 26 member cantons and half cantons, seventeen are German speaking, four French speaking, and one Italian speaking and four have more than one language. Three of these are bilingual, whilst the fourth is trilingual. Besides these, there are also the languages of the migrant workers and other immigrants that are not Swiss national languages (Rumantscha 1996:19). India, the world's biggest democratic and multilingual state, has, under Article 343 (1) recognized Hindi as language of the Union and English as the auxiliary language at least for fifteen years. But India has failed to undermine the role of English after fifteen years of the promulgation of the constitution in 1949. The Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India relating to Article 344(1) and 351, has included 15 other provincial/state languages in the list. The government, under Article 351, is committed to the development and standardization of Hindi. In the US, Speakers of languages other than English are all supposed to be in the "melting pot" together and emerge speaking English. As a consequence, "the American English has some of the flavor of the various ingredients melted together in it" (Eastman 1983:2).

There has been no systematic and scientific language planning in Nepal as it is in other countries of the world. Even after 1950, Nepal stressed on one language policy and encouraged Nepali undermining others. Even after the implementation of the 1990 constitution, language planning has not been done properly.

The Politics of Linguistic Minorities and Small Languages

In order to study the language politics, it would be essential to study how the government behaves with the linguistic minorities and smaller languages. The culture of a country in fact is judged from the way it treats its minority groups and the way it gives respect to them. The social, cultural and political identity of the people is linked with the language they speak. In a multi-

lingual society like India, the politics of language becomes a challenging issue. "Since each of India's linguistic minorities are quite different.... Some minorities speaking 'unrecognized' languages have demanded statehood. This demand is often made by those linguistic groups concentrated in a particular region of a state, where the group has a strong sense of its own distinctive identity. The largest "*stateless*" linguistic minorities in India are Bhili Boro, Dogri, Gondi, Ho, Konkani, Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari, Sindhi, Santali and Tulu (Weiner 1989:43-47). India's religious, linguistic, tribal and caste minorities want the demand for a "hōmeland", "linguistic recognition", "reservation", and "security" (Wiener, 1980: 62-70).

The imposition of a dominant culture and language by centralized leaders often become a problem in the Third World countries. In the name of development, progress and national unity, indigenous cultures have been destroyed leading to their marginalization in society. Language has become an important tool by which the state has tried to subjugate these peoples by denying them the right to use and develop their mother tongues. Language is manifestly part of culture. The state's purposive interference with the mother tongues of tribal peoples has done tremendous violence to their culture in as much as culture is largely transmitted through language (Nikhel Nayyar 1995:166). Minority languages in multilingual India is facing dozens of problems (Daswani, 1992: 239-246).

The concept of linguistic minorities is not defined in the present constitution of Nepal but the meaning of the expression would be clear from a reading of Article 18 which gives every community "the right to protect and develop its language, script and culture and to establish school for providing education to the children upto the primary level in their mother tongues." (HMG 1990) But the linguistic minorities in Nepal have repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction over the fact that the frequent changes in governments and political instability had adversely affected their linguistic interests. Article 25 (3) further mentions that "the state shall have the social objective of establishing a harmony amongst the various castes, tribes, religions, languages, color and communities." Similarly, Article 26(2) mentions that "the state shall promote the language, literature, script, art and culture of all." Language movements in Nepal are, however, trying to utilize their languages as social and cultural symbols to mobilize people to foster the cultures associated with them.

There has been a strong argument among some of the leading linguists that in multi-lingual and multi cultural societies, diversity of cultures,

languages, and religions weaken the processes of national integration, harmony and development. But the opponents of this approach strongly advocate that cultural plurality or multiplicity, if materialized properly, politically and socially, can bring unity among the various linguistic and ethnic communities/groups; can promote or accelerate the pace of development; can strengthen or consolidate the process of democratization and so on (Yadav 1996:233-239). The present Constitution of Nepal is committed to safeguard the interests of all the linguistic minorities in Nepal. The chief feature of the present language policy is that it has allowed mother tongue instruction at primary level of education (up to class five), and gradual switch over to modern standard languages—Nepali or English—as a media of instruction at the High School, college or at the university level.

Decline/Decay of Minor Languages in Nepal

His Majesty Government of Nepal (HMG/N), as some linguists and speech communities point out, has not shown positive attitude for the development of small languages, their writing system, and scripts. Some of the languages, which have recently developed writing systems, had received no government encouragement. There are a larger number of lesser known languages, which are endangered and likely to die out in the lack of their use and documentation (Yadav, 1996:233-239). In order to promote these lesser known languages, the government has to play key role in this direction. With the increasing process of Nepalization, speakers of minority languages, gradually tend toward adopting Nepali language and eventually losing their own mother tongues. Ten Rai Languages have already decayed/died and another twelve ones are on the verge of extinction (Yadav, 1996:233-239). This is the *hara-kiri*, the suicide of language identity. These lesser known languages are facing identity crisis from the so-called dominant languages. The present constitutional and legal provisions and measures undertaken by the HMG to promote and preserve the interests of the linguistic minorities (including the endangered linguistic groups) are not adequate. Except those languages which have rich written tradition (Nepali/Maithili, Newari, Limbu), the smaller and '*lesser known languages*' comparatively need more government protection and encouragement to preserve their own identity. The decline of languages "must ultimately have political and economic causes. In our time, political speech and writing are supposed to be largely the defense of the indefensible. In today's world, language cannot be kept out of politics. All issues are

political issues and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer." (Orwell:1985).

Politics of Spoken Languages, and Medium of Instruction

Indian politics, as Morris-Jones (1967:41) and Palmer (1970:3-4) opine, is the mixing up of three levels of language i.e., modern, traditional and saintly ones which give Indian politics its distinctive character. Regarding modern languages of politics in India, Morris-Jones (1967:41) writes. "This Modern language of politics is the languages of the Indian Constitution and the courts: of parliamentary debate, of the higher administration, of the upper levels of all the main political parties of the entire English press and much of the Indian language press. It is a language, which speaks of politics and interests; programs and plans. It expresses itself in arguments and representations, discussions and demonstrations, deliberations and decision." Similarly, the languages at the state, district and local levels throughout most of India are considered as the traditional languages. Languages used by saintly politicians like Gandhi, Vabe, and JP Narayan are languages of saintly politics. Like in India, mostly the illiterate people use the traditional language of Nepalese politics in the remote areas of the kingdom. With the extension of party networks in Nepal after 1990, the increasing number of NGOs, INGOs and educational institutions and the activation of educational lights, local party cadres and opinion leaders, the traditional languages, shaped and influenced by local political groups and leaders, are gradually replaced by the modern ones even in the backward villages. In the urban centres modern languages are used but the illiterate masses do not easily understand the modern language used by the urbanite elites. Thus, a clear distinction is noticed in the use of the language in the rural and urban areas and between the elites and the masses. Instead of *Sri Pancha Maharaja Dhiraj Firti Sabari Hoivaksyo*, (the King returned back home), the illiterate villagers use the common and informal language like *Raja Aaya* (The King came).

The study of attitudes towards spoken languages and the medium of instruction in educational institutions are important aspects of language politics. The use and practice of standard languages in educational institutions as some linguist believe, has led to an attitude of neglect, humiliation and depreciation to local/unstandard languages. "The concept of a standard language has some how reduced the spoken language to a symbol of

backwardness. The whole education system has very hostile and demeaning attitudes towards spoken languages. They are innocent villagers. They cannot speak, they do not have a language, are some of the humiliating expressions used by the people who are proficient in the standard language, lack of knowledge of a particular standard language is many times reduced to not having a language.... So even if there are primers in the mother tongues, since the teachers prefer to talk in the standard language and is hostile towards his students language, the purpose of making primers in mother tongue is totally defeated." The middle class, at times overly, and at other times subtly, use our command over a dominant language, or the language of the rulers, to subjugate and dominate the toiling masses. The rise of regional linguistic identities had developed themselves as a reaction to the domination of standard language." (Saxena and Mahendroo 1995: 144-157). In Nepal also, the teachers prefer to use standard language in school instruction and consequently, the languages of the minority groups remain neglected. Even the textbooks are written in standard Nepali.

Politics of The English Language

Though the present constitution has not specifically mentioned the role of English in Nepal, but in practice it has become a language of mass media, academic seminar and symposium, the library, public administration, diplomatic business, higher level academic and research institutions and register level languages. Nepal's heavy dependence on foreign aid, its diplomatic relations with more than 100 nation-states; the growing of NGOs and INGOs and Job opportunities to Nepalese in these institutions and abroad and a number of factors have contributed the gravity of English in the lives of Nepalese people.

Politics of Link Language

In the multilingual society like Nepal, the study of inter community communication or *Lingua Franca* which is often referred to as a "link language" or "auxiliary language" becomes an important aspect of language politics. Linguistically speaking, *lingua franca* is a term popularly used in socio linguistics and often in every day speech to refer to an auxiliary language use to enable routine communication to take place between group of people who speak different native languages (Crystal 1985:180). In simplest terms, a language which is used among the speakers of different languages is a *lingua franca*, which can also be a native language of one of the groups or

it could be a language which isn't spoken as the first or native language of one of the groups (Rai 1995:53). English is the world's most common *lingua franca*, followed by French but other languages are also widely used. In East Africa, Swahili in many parts of West Africa, Hausa is used (Crystal 189). Nepali is broadly used as the *lingua franca* in Nepal among different communities. In the hills and in the mountains, the speakers of the Tibeto-Burman languages are often found to use Nepali as their link language. Educated native speakers of the Tarai, in most cases, tend to use Hindi as *lingua franca* for inter-community communication (Yadav 235). The Bantawa, the Kulung and the Thulung dialects within the Rai community in some parts of eastern hill districts and Bhojpuri and Maithili in some parts in southern plains also perform this role in a limited form. However, missing links are also seen in link language. Several factors have contributed to the consolidation of English language as the *lingua franca* and its maximum use in higher administrative, educational, political and diplomatic fields in Nepal.

Politics of Language Standardization and Modernization

Most of the languages of Nepal are facing the problems of standardization. No doubt, Nepali, Newari, Rai and Maithili are rich in literary heritage but they have mostly amassed literary and religious vocabulary earlier usage, which have restricted to certain social groups. But the process of the standardization of language in Nepal has been seriously challenged and threatened by the corrupt political leaders and administrators. Most of the top ranking political leaders, senior administrators, army and police officers in Nepal use bad, abusive or slang words which has virtually degraded or corrupted the language. If this process continues in future, the language of these seniors would be considered as a base or vulgar language, which is always disliked by the civilized linguists and academicians. George Orwell (1985:420-436) has rightly remarked that if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. Schlesinger (1985:437-450) has viewed that the corruption of man is followed by the corruption of language. The corrupt practices followed by the Nepalese politicians and top ranking civil servants and their inefficient, incapable, selfish, shortsighted, and ill-behavior have consequently led to the corruption of language as a whole in Nepal (Dahal 1998b).

Linguists also express their dissatisfaction over the differences between the standard language and local dialects. Leading Indian linguist, Vera Vera Rao has opined that there is nothing like standard language of the civil people

and that the rest are dialects... is the language of the working class? Why is it called a dialect? Why is the language of ... considered standard language? ... Why is the Brahmin's language called a standard language and the working people's dialect (Saxena and Mahendroo: 1995: 144-157). The difference between standard language and local dialects in some cases are symptomatic of the majority-minority; dominant-subordinate; privileged, under privileged dynamics relating to ethnic, cultural, social and politico-economic spheres of life of a particular nation-state. It represents state intervention in language programs, policies and planning which have serious implication as far as issues of language vis a vis power, privilege, economic and educational opportunities and national regional identities are concerned (Saxena and Mahendroo 1995:144). Regarding the standardization of language, teachers and the native speakers of a particular language differ much. The teachers, stressing the standardization of school text books, view that their students would remain backward if they are taught in *dehate* or *Gaulle Bhasa* (Village language) instead of a standard language. But others feel that the mother tongue should be used in instruction, examination and for other purposes (Saxena and Mahendroo 1995:144-157). These local languages continue to discharge a pre-functionary role limited to routine communicative expressions. In certain areas of social communication, the local languages of Nepal, except English, may become the medium of cultural expression, whereas English dominates other technical and advanced fields, matters of higher educational research and development. Language cannot grow on their own to a standardized level of communication unless they have a determined state or institutional support (Talgeri 1995:201-205). But the smaller and under developed languages of Nepal have not been provided with institutional support of the state. The present constitutional and legal system of Nepal has tried to escape from this inequality. Article 11 of the present Nepalese Constitution provides right to equality to all citizens. Article 19 provides all linguistic communities to develop their language and Article 6 considers all the language spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal as the languages of the nation (HMG 1990). Under Article 18, it has provided the right to establish mother tongue education up to primary level. But these constitutional provisions are yet to be realized in practice in Nepal due to the lack of a number of factors including the lack of resources, educational materials, teachers and so on.

Political Register and Language Politics

Socio-linguists stress that effective communication demands not only the grammatically correct utterances but situationally appropriate also. Language has to be appropriate to the speaker, receiver, situation and subject matter (Rai 1995: 49). In this direction, the study of political register becomes particularly important. Register is a variety of languages defined according to its use in social situations, e.g., a register of scientific and religious subjects (Rai 1995: 49). As the politicians during their political gaming, commonly use political and constitutional registers their study become particularly important. Nepali, however, is not enough to meet all the technical terms and for this reason, the use of English is growing day by day. Besides political register, medical, legal, technical, engineering and other registers are flourishing these days in Nepal. The general people who are mostly illiterate express their dissatisfaction with the fact that the language of law, constitution, government document and party leaders are not easily understood because they are not culturally grounded in social lives of people.

Political Parties and Language Politics in Nepal

It would be essential to have a bird's eye view on the attitudes and behaviors of various political parties of Nepal towards the languages of Nepal. The principle political parties of Nepal, after the restoration of Multi Party Democracy (MPD) in 1990, held almost similar views regarding languages. Their election manifestoes published during 1991 and during mid term elections, (1994) showed almost similar views regarding languages. Both the Nepali Congress (NC), and the Madav Nepal and KP Oli led Communist Party of Nepal, Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML), the partners during the historic mass uprising of 1990 had tried to encourage the development of all the languages of the nation. The two Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) held almost similar views (NC 1991; CPN UML 1991; NDPs 1991). The Nepal Sadbhavana Party (NSP), in its Election Manifesto published in Hindi and English, is in favour of ending discriminations in all fields including in language (NSP: 1991). The major political parties also followed almost similar language policy in the parliamentary elections held in May 1999.

Language Problems in Nepal

Language controversy remained a burning issue in Nepal since the political change of 1951. Nepal Tarai Congress (NTC) since its establishment in 1951, gave a clarion call for the recognition of Hindi as a second language of

Nepal. Among the linguistic communities in Tarai, the Hindi movement took a dramatic turn in 1956 when KI Singh led United Democratic Party (UDP) Government articulated to pose certain challenge to Hindi by issuing a government directive which aimed at the removal of Hindi from the school education. "Save Hindi committees were formed to support Hindi movement which was supported by important political parties during the 50's—Nepali Congress (NC), Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), and Nepal Praja Parishad (NPP) (Gaige 19975). In 1957, V.N. Jha, the leader of the NTC stated that they would not allow the removal of Hindi from the medium of education." During the Panchayat days, other languages except Nepali remained neglected and the New Education Plan System (NEPS) introduced in 1971 discouraged the use of other languages except Nepali as the medium of instruction in educational institutions including Hindi (Mishra 1990). However, Hindi was prescribed as optional subjects both in school and colleges.

The regionalization of politics and political parties has encouraged the regionalization of languages too in Nepal. The various linguistic communities, including the minorities since 1990 have made various attempts to promote their own languages. Hindi in Tarai and Newari in Kathmandu Valley are taking the leading roles. Gore B. Khapangi, former school teacher and later turned ethnic activist, had organized the mountain and hill ethnic and linguistic groups *Se Ta Ma Gu Ra Li* and had championed for the advocacy of their languages including their proper role in politics. *Se Ta Ma Gu Ra Li* is the abbreviation of Nepal's six Mongoloid hill Tribes. *Se* Stands for Sherpa, *Ta* for Tamang, *Ma* for Magar, *Gu* for Gurung, *Ra* for Rai and *Li* for Limbus. For them language has become a powerful means to achieve their political ends—to have a due share in the central decision making process. In spite of these small efforts, speech communities of the smaller and lesser-known languages in Nepal still feel insecure due to uncertain prospect they face. They strongly oppose the dominant role of Nepali and demand complete equality in this respect. Various linguistic groups as mentioned in Art 6, are also challenging the constitutional provisions concerning language. Some political parties including Nepal Sadbhavana Party (NSP) have made a clarion call for the recognition of the regional language as official languages in local bodies. The Kathmandu Municipal Corporation (KMC) declared Newari as its official language whereas Rajbiraj and Janakpur Municipalities and Dhanusha District Development Committee (DDC) declared Maithili as their official language. This process of recognition became a subject of heavy controversy in the

political circle. Even the court seriously questioned the constitutionality and legality of such declaration. The Supreme Court of Nepal (SCN), on April 14, 1998, declared it unconstitutional on the ground that Article 6 of the present Constitution clearly mentions that "the Nepali language shall be the official language" of Nepal (HMG 1991).

The minority linguistic groups have openly challenged the verdict of the court on the ground that it had violated the right to languages of smaller groups and undermined the role of other languages except Nepali. In order to challenge the state, the linguistic activists formed "United Struggle Committee for Language Right" with Amaresh Narayan Jha of *Nepal Maithil samaj* as its convenor. The three advisors of the Committee were one MP associated with *Manka Khala* (Newari) movement, Padma Ratna Tuladhar and two University Professors: Dr. Krishna B. Bhattachan, and Dr. Subodh Narayan Jha. The members of the Committee represented various linguistic and ethnic activists like Suresh Ale Magar from *Akhil Nepal Janatati Sangh*, Rajbhai Jakami from *Newa Rastriya Andolana*, Parasuram Tamang from *Nepal Janajati Mahashangh*, MP Pari Thapa from *Akhil Nepal Janajati Sammellan*, Dr. Om Gurung from *Akhil Nepal Buddhi Jibi Sangh*, Mukti Pradhan from *Nepal Rastriya Buddhijibi Sangh*, Krishna Sen from *Akhil Nepal Jana Sanskritic Sangh*, Suresh Karmacharya from *Nepal Janajati Mukti Andolan*, Dharendra Premarshi from *Maithil Vikas Manch*, Krishna P. Shrestha from *Dwalkha Gwahar Khalak* and Biswonath Pathak from *Awadhi Sanskritic Bikash Parishad* (Maharjan 1998: 46-47).

In order to pressure the SCN to rethink over its verdict, this committee started campaigning and organized a seminar on "Use of National Languages in Local Bodies and the Supreme Court's Order", which was addressed by MPs and language activists-Padma R. Tuladhar, Krishna Gopal Shrestha, Hridayesh Tripathi, Mahanta Thakur, Malla K. Sundar, Keshav Sthapit and Suresh Ale Magar. The speakers strongly demanded the equal treatment to all the languages and opposed the decision of the Court. Moreover, further meetings were also held in Rajbiraj on May 11, 1998 and other places. As part of their protest, *Akhil Nepal Janajati Sangh* on March 31, 1998, submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister against the Court's order. The order, as one Newari Daily reported, was also condemned by Bam Dev Gautam, General Secretary of CPN-ML and Prachanda, the General Secretary of CPN-Unity Centre (*Sandhaya Times* 1998; Maharjan 1998:46-47). Appeals had also been made with the Public Service Commission (PSC), a constitutional body, to show due respect to all the languages of the nation

(Yatri 2053:292). The decision of the Supreme Court of Nepal (SCN) of Jestha 18, 2056 B.S. regarding the language issue further brought the various linguistic minorities of different geographical regions into one common forum to challenge/oppose the court's decision. The *Manka Khala* movement had also challenged the political system by declaring *Nepal-Bandh* and other pressure activities in the capital city. The combined efforts of various linguistic groups to oppose the government and court's decision regarding language had created further problems in this direction. The decay of smaller or lesser-known languages and the government's failure to promote them have added some more challenges/problems in this direction. The linguistic minorities are dissatisfied with the government on the ground that it had not paid proper heed for the promotion and modernization of their languages, scripts and literatures. Some linguistic groups in Nepal point out that language planning in Nepal has not been done properly and scientifically, while others claim that language has been highly politicized in Nepal.

Recommendations

In to-days's Nepal, language issues has been emerging as an acute problem. In order to solve the existing problems, proper attention should be paid in time so that it may not emerge as a severe one. In order to solve the existing problems, languages in Nepal must be studied in three dimensions: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. Language problem, as other problems of the society, might be studied, resolved peacefully and handled positively by the government in consultation with various linguistic groups of the nation. Their right to develop their own languages must be recognized in practice. The use of vernacular languages in education as mentioned in the 1951-UNESCO Report must be encouraged upto High School level. The Socio-cultural provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1966 should strictly be implemented. Moreover, the Directive Principles and Policies of the State concerning language, as outlined in Article 25 and 26 of the present Nepalese Constitution, should also be effectively implemented into practice. Languages, as Fishman (1984:34) opines, must be treated as important resources of the nation and proper attention should be given to protect, promote and develop them. It is an important "resource of value" but it is not a resource in the same sense as agriculture, labor, industry and waterpower. A scientific and most up-to-date

linguistic survey to determine the status and position of various languages of Nepal should be conducted and accordingly, a scientific, need-based language promotion and planning policy should be formulated and promoted. The government should pay due attention to the protection and promotion of the inchoate and lesser-known languages, especially to those that are on the verge of decay and mother tongue education institutions in various parts of the country particularly in the remote areas. The recommendations given by *Rastriya-Bhasa Nitisujhab Ayog* (Commission for the Recommendation of National Language Policy) in its reports, (*Rastriyabahsa Niti Sujhav Ayog Ko Partibedan*) in 1994, (RNSA, 1994) and by the *Rastriya Sanskritik Samiti 2049 VS* (National Cultural Committee, 1992 (RSS, 1992) should be implemented phase wise with sincere attention. The languages of Nepal are in different status/position, some are unconscious/sleeping and some half conscious, some conscious and some walking. In this context, it must be determined categorically which language needs which status/treatment and which type of phase wise development. Different policies and strategies should be formed to promote them. For Newari and Limbu, which have rich written and literary tradition, only government encouragement is enough for codification and standardization. But for the smaller languages which have their own scripts but have not developed, need different treatment. Special government treatment should be given to those languages, which are on the verge of decay. Similarly, only establishing mother tongue institutions are not enough but they need active government financing and other initiations. Moreover, in order to frame an appropriate, timely and need based language and cultural policy, to develop harmony and cooperation among various linguistic groups, to settle cultural and linguistic problems, to define the role of languages and to conduct high level academic research regularly, special and most representative high-power linguistic and cultural commission should be organized. As the courts are the guardians of the constitutional rights of the citizens, the languages activists should try to pressurize the parliamentarians to amend the constitutional provisions concerning language and create strong lobby and public opinion in their favour. The languages of 61 Jana Jatis (Nepal Rajpatra 2054 VS) should be particularly encouraged and protected by the government.

Conclusion

As the awareness among people of a common linguistic Community identify springing from their shared experience serves the building bloc of national

integration, it is important for the government to accord due place to each language and cultures so that linguistic diversity in the nation attempts to foster purpose politics of nation building. It is equally important to overcome a sense of alienation, seclusion and discrimination and from broader identity.

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DUṢYANTA AND ŚAKUNTALĀ IN THE 1980S: MĀDHAVA GHIMIRE'S ŚAKUNTALĀ GĪTI-NĀṬAKA

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Treating topics from the store house of classical Sanskrit is one of the characteristic features of Nepali literature.¹ Its very beginning with Bhānubhakta carries a theme from Sanskrit epic literature, namely the famous Rāmāyaṇa. The trend became very strong in the first half of the 20th century and continues even up to the present day. Although in most of the instances the original Sanskrit text has been more or less closely translated into Nepali, a number of works show a shift in form and content from the Sanskrit original. Ghimire's Śakuntalā belongs to the second category and I intend to present in this paper some of the major formal and contentual elements of shift in relation to the historical model of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalā nāṭaka*. This will put us in a position to realize the quality of literary change brought about by the author and it will finally lead us to draw conclusions about the ideological attitude it stands for. In my analysis, I will refrain from using remarks and judgments about the author which have been made or developed by others.²

The Śakuntalā topic has long been popular among prominent literary figures in Nepal where it has drawn the attention of writers like Motirāma Bhaṭṭa, Śambhuprasāda Dhuṅgela, Lekhanātha Pauḍyāla, Lakṣmīprasāda Devakoṭā, Khadgamāna Malla, and others. Lakṣmīprasāda Devakoṭā was inspired by the Śakuntalā theme repeatedly and even wrote a literary epic in English published posthumously under the title *Shakuntala*³. In the list of remodelling or reshaping the traditional theme, Ghimire's Śakuntalā (abbreviated here as SGN) is the latest. It got published in V.S. 2038 (1981/82). In the foreword of the brochured book, Ghimire himself says, "This *Śakuntalā gīti-nāṭaka* is based on Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* - this is that and yet, not only that" (SGN, foreword (prakāśakīya)).

Formal Elements of Shift

In order to assess the kind of shift on the formal side let us take a short look at the formal elements at first. In the literary genre *gītināṭaka*, song, ballet-like parts and dramatic dialogues are accompanied by musical instruments. The music is a blend of Indian classical and Nepalese folk music. In Nepalese literature, the form of *gītināṭaka* has for the first time been used by Mādhava Ghimire to treat the topic of Śakuntalā. In comparison to Kālidāsa's drama *Abhijñānaśakuntalā nāṭaka*⁴, the number of acts has been reduced from 7 to 6 and their size has considerably been shortened. Preceding all acts is a prologue (*pūrvaraṅga*) which itself is preceded by a traditional benedictory verse (*maṅgalācaraṇa*). In between the title page and the editor's note, six lines extracted from the first canto (*sarga*) of Lakṣmīprasāda's *Nepaliśakuntalāmahākāvya* are presented. Each new act is introduced by an epigram consisting of an original verse of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* in Sanskrit and its Nepali translation. In the case of the verses selected for the acts four and six, the Nepali translation of *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* by Lekhanātha Pauḍyāla has been given. The text is mostly composed of stanzas of the classical metre *anuṣṭubh* using endrhymes aa, bb, cc, etc. The style of language used is concise, clear, and tender although resounding Bhānubhakta at places.

All of Kālidāsa's major characters belonging to the hermitage (*āśrama*) of the great ascetic (*maharṣi*) Kaṇva including the chief of the army and the king's companion, the *vidūṣaka* alias Mādhavya, have been retained whereas all characters belonging to the supernatural world and to Duṣyanta's palace in Hastinapur have been renounced. Ghimire has invented one new character: Devadūta, who is "Duṣyanta's inner beautiful self"⁵.

Regarding stage directions for music and dance the printed text edition does not give any clues for its realization except for the direction of the *vīṇā*⁶ to be played on a few occasions.

Contentual Elements of Shift

In comparison to the basic dramatic set up as presented by Kālidāsa, Ghimire has introduced major changes in the formation of the plot bringing about a distinctively modified play. The modifications, however, reduce the dramatic impact heavily, but they show us what Ghimire as a writer regards important, where he disagrees with tradition or feels the need for a redefinition.

The most decisive innovation in the plot thread is the omission of the ring-curse motive. The ring-curse motive was the major narrative invention of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* through which he created the necessary conditions for a remodeling of the two heroes' characters in relation to the epic narrative of the Mahābhārata and what allowed him the addition of new characters and scenes. After Kālidāsa, no version in Sanskrit and Nepalese

literature was able to abandon this device. And by abandoning it the poet does not return to the classic epic model of the Mahābhārata either.⁷

The example of the character Durvāsas may serve to illustrate the style and tone of innovation this new Nepalese Śakuntalā carries with her. Although Ghimire's Śakuntalā does not employ the curse motif, ṛṣi Durvāsas, who is Kālidāsa's creation, remains one of the *dramatis personae*. Durvāsas appears together with Kaṇva in the fourth act where both of them meet on the bank of the river Mālīnī, the place of Śakuntalā's birth and the place of the āśrama of her foster father ṛṣi Kaṇva. Kaṇva tells Durvāsas about the imminent departure of Śakuntalā for the palace of the king. In reply, Durvāsa, who is not in favour of this move, gets angry but does not speak a curse any more as in Kālidāsa, instead, he utters a wise saying of the value of a prophecy. True to his traditional character it is of negative nature (SGN:31).

What kind of time has come, who is loving whom?

What he welcomes today, that he will negate tomorrow.⁸

After this meeting, Durvāsas and Kaṇva part into different directions. This can be regarded as a symbol of their contrary attitude towards the present and the future: Durvāsas, the unbending pessimist, Kaṇva, the adjusting optimist. The figure invented by Kālidāsa remains, but it has been set into a new environment and its former function has drastically been changed. Durvāsas former role as an effective power has been reduced to that of a mere forecaster of the future. He is no longer the visible cause of the suffering of Śakuntalā as in *Abhijñānaśakuntalā* but only a medium predicting a negative development, which is of a very short duration in SGN when compared to her long period of suffering in *Abhijñānaśakuntalā*.

The second important novelty is the complete omission of Śakuntalā's son Bharata alias Sarvadamana whose birth now happens outside the play's timely frame. While in Duṣyanta's palace, Śakuntalā's pregnancy is referred to by Gautamī, a female ascetic living in Kaṇva's āśrama who is his "adopted sister" (*dharmabhaginī*), but the expected child plays no role in the *gīti-nāṭaka*.

These two almost revolutionary innovations allowed a complete abstention from any scene taking place in the supernatural world. Only one referential word has survived from the overwhelming role of the supernatural in Kālidāsa. It is the heavenly voice (*ākāśavāṇī*) known from the *Śakuntalopākhyāna* of the Mahābhārata which gets reintroduced by Ghimire. Its realization and message, however, are entirely new: the *gīti-nāṭaka* ends with voices from heaven pronouncing a blessing (*āśīrvādako ākāśavāṇī*) to Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. These heavenly voices are Kaṇva's pupils conveying the message of the maharṣi.

The expository stanza to these 3 verses of 4 lines each contains in its second line a refrain repeated at the end of each verse. It says:

Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta, Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā

May the vast earth be a place of great reunion.⁹

The first of the three verses is identical with the opening verse (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) of the play and thus joins the new beginning and the new end:

Having mounted even winged horses and having strolled
even the milky way

Having collected even the flowers from the stars in his lap

Moving hither and thither man of today is lonely - as if lost

May the vast earth be a place of great reunion.¹⁰

Along with the following two verses these last lines mirror the abstract message of Ghimire's Śakuntalā leaving the historical plane of genealogy completely and exchanging it for an all comprising, humanistic appeal. Because of the fundamental value of these lines for the philosophy proclaimed they are therefore quoted here:

May the path of every journey end at the door of man ¹¹

May the object of the whole life end in the same love

May not the earth become a horde, may not man be alone

May the vast earth be a place of great reunion.

The soul full of the drink of immortality, the eyes of a
beautiful glaze

The entire world grows steadily towards perfection

May the world become [like] a full moon, may every man be
[like a piece of] art.

May the vast earth be a place of great reunion.¹²

In Ghimire, the topic of Śakuntalā takes on a dimension of humanistic-philosophical reflection. The whole play is framed with an existentialist point of view and coloured with an optimistic outlook towards the future. Thus, Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā become representatives of individuals experiencing life basically as loneliness, a loneliness, however, which longs and strives for interaction, union, love. Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta finally become the manifestations of a natural, blissful, happy, human reunion symbolizing civilizing progress and global brotherhood.

Psychologizing the Main Characters in Relation to the Model of Abhijñānaśakuntalā Leads to Greater Psychological Credibility :

A closer analysis of the two main characters reveals the substantial shift from their classical model: fate as the dominant factor of Kālidāsa's ring-Śakuntalā has been given up in favour of a psychological turn producing a modern and higher degree of credibility. In Ghimire's Śakuntalā, Duṣyanta is portrayed as a king and lover running into a psychological conflict and crisis which he finally

overcomes through introspection and contemplation. The hero's *katharsis* happens after his breakdown in an interior monologue which is dramatically enhanced through the creation of the new *dramatis persona*, Devadūta. When Duṣyanta finally follows his conscience drawing the line between hollow pretention and meaningful being and acting, between estrangement from his self and sticking to himself, he realizes his wrong doing in rejecting Śakuntalā. Waking up from a faint he searches her asking pilgrims about a pregnant woman. After some time, he finds her on a platform beneath a tree (*cautārī*) on the bank of the river Yamunā.

The modernized portrayal and upliftment of Duṣyanta's character along with the new shape of the happy end set up pillars of an ideologically new story. Its make up is guided by a concern for an intelligible and reconstructable psychological constellation when compared to Kālidāsa's composition where we find central scenes employing the *deus ex machina* device as, for example, the appearance of god Indra's charioteer Mātali in act VI. With Kālidās, this scene complies with the rules of Sanskrit poetics for the evocation of the *adbhuta* rasa as laid down in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but it is no longer desired now.

In Ghimire's rendering, Duṣyanta's behaviour in the *āśrama* does not remain free from outspoken criticism unlike to Kālidāsa where it has to be inferred. In the beginning of the play, this is reservedly but unmistakably expressed by the words of Anasūyā, Śakuntalā's companion in the *āśrama*, when she says,

"Young persons tend to do be inattentive, ... is he

[Duṣyanta] going to break the rules of the *āśrama* today?"¹³

By pointing clearly to Duṣyanta's religious-morally unlawful acting Ghimire brings the hero nearer to the mind set of the modern spectator or reader of the play and in order to make him more acceptable he transforms Duṣyanta's character substantially through a higher degree of psychologizing.

In contrast, Śakuntalā's character remains throughout above all doubts and second thoughts. Kālidāsa's erstwhile concern for caste seems to be of no more importance. Śakuntalā is the embodiment of female virtue whose main feature is endurance, as it was in Kālidāsa. Endurance, however, is now further enhanced and takes on even a stronger form what is forgiveness. This is expressed through the mouth of Mādhavya, who is Duṣyanta's relative and company on the hunt, when he says,

"Women are the embodiment of forgiveness, in the end, she [Śakuntalā] will forgive."¹⁴

In addition to that, her simlicity (*saratā*) along with her virginity (*kumārīpana*) (SGN: 27) are emphasised thus making her also a perfect match to the present standard ideal of a Nepalese bride.

Elimination of the Supernatural and Reintroduction of the Element of Truth as Means for Achieving Realism and Proximity of the Present : Contrary to Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, Ghimire's Śakuntalā is stripped of all supernatural elements. The reunion of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā on the bank of the river Yamuna allows even the birth of Bharata to be imagined as taking place in an earthly environment, as it had been the case in the *Mahābhārata* story (*Ādiparvan*, *Śakuntalopākhyāna*). From the side of the author, there seems to be no more interest in any kind of magic happening or fairy tale atmosphere, as partly evoked by Devakoṭā in his English language epic *Shakuntala*. Ghimire promotes an immediately intelligible, realistic scenario which helps the modern reader identify with the heroes' psychology and stage actions.

The value of truth which was of major concern in the *Mahābhārata*, but did not feature prominently with Kālidāsa, has been reintroduced as a topic of relevance, for example, in the case when Devadūta speaks to Duṣyanta,

"Nobody can permanently go on lying to oneself /
nobody can go on living with two personalities."¹⁵

In addition to the individual-psychological level, truth is now referred to on a literary-social level, where it carries with it the whole depth and weight of the still contemporary figure of the great poet Lakṣmīprasāda Devakoṭā.¹⁶ When Duṣyanta in his palace pretends to be unable to remember anything concerning Śakuntalā, he also expresses his fears regarding the possible reaction of the people who might doubt his honesty, similar to Duḥśanta of the *Mahābhārata*. Turning towards Kaṇva's pupils he says,

"What are you doing? What will the people say?"¹⁷

and his rhetorical question is answered by Śaradvata with the words,

"The truth is always honourable, this is what the people will say."¹⁸

"The Truth is Honourable"¹⁹ is the title of a famous essay of social criticism by Lakṣmīprasāda Devakoṭā which is echoed by Ghimire's pen in an allegedly ancient context. Ghimire thus cuts off from the long coat of distanceness of the classical subject and joins to it the proximity of contemporary Nepali literature and the reader's present.

Ideological Expression

After having introduced so much of change and innovation the question might arise whether the author should be called revolutionary. Judging from Ghimire's treatment of the literary tradition or past the formal and contentual changes seem to justify the granting of the *epitheton*. Judging from an implicit leaning towards radical-futuristic social concepts, however, a different picture appears.

In my analysis, I did not trace any evidence or indication contradictory to the statement claiming that the author does not go beyond the frame of the present prevailing when his work was published, rather does he reflect the modern present of Nepal in respect to social values and norms in this work. In his Śakuntalā, Ghimire seems to favour a devaluation of the magic and supernatural, a disconcert for caste, a removal of traditional preconditions and dealings with the institution of marriage, and a decrease in the importance attached to the value of owning male children. It may be recalled that in Kālidāsa Duṣyanta reunites with Śakuntalā only after meeting his son. The former explicit concern for the male issue has shifted towards a higher degree of self-achieved personal integrity and responsibility. More emphasis has been laid on individual feeling and mutual understanding and the congruence between word and action. While granting the characters their radius of ideological movement in the play, the poet does not transgress the forward looking social-legal limits of his present. However, equally characteristic and important appears to me the fact that he does not fall behind them.

Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā seem to be perfectly adjusted to the predominant ideological condition of the Nepal of the author's social present: on the path of modernisation or assimilating a Western value system. The two main characters no longer behave like extraordinary beings from a distant heroic past, but like humane people of the world of today with natural passions, weaknesses, a wish for self-determination, and an ability and strive for positive thinking. Although placed in an almost antique, in the context of modern Nepal if not an exotic than at least a romantic setting, Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā have become spiritual contemporaries of the 1980s.

Notes

1. This paper was presented at the 1998 Annual Conference of the Literary Association of Nepal held at Padma Kanya Campus, T.U.
2. For a recent appreciation of the poet Mādhava Ghimire see Yadunātha Khanāla "Mādhava Ghimirekā kavītāko sāno parikrama" in: *Samakālina sāhitya, varṣa 7, aṅka 3, pūrṇa aṅka 27, sāuna, bhadau, asoja 2054*, pp. 16-26.
3. Devakota, Lakshmi Prasad. *Shakuntala*. Kathmandu: Cultural Association 1991.
4. Compare for instance the edition by M.R. Kale, *The Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa*, 10th edition 1969 (1977)
5. Devadūta: Duṣyantabhittrako sundara rūpa (SGN: (8))
6. Name of an Indian string instrument, preferably used in South Indian music

7. An overview and a discussion of the different versions has been presented in my dissertation *Śakuntalā Complex: The Development of the Śakuntalā Theme in Sanskrit and Nepalese Literature with Special Reference to the Śakuntalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata*, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, 1994.
8. Kasto samaya yo āyo, kallāi pyāra garcha ko?/
āja jo garcha svikāra, bholi inkāra garcha tyo/ (SGN: 31)
9. Śakuntalā ra Duṣyanta , Duṣyanta ra Śakuntalā/
Viśāla dharti hoos mahāmilanako thalā// (SGN: 50)
10. Bāyupamkhī caḍhi ghoḍā chāyāpatha ḍule pani/
Tārāmaṇḍalakā phula poltāmā baṭule pani/
Hiṃḍḍā hiṃḍḍai harāe jhaiṃ āja mānche cha ekalā/
Viśāla dharti hoos mahāmilanako thalā// (ibid.)
11. Emphasis Ghimire's, underline mine
12. Mārga pratyeka yātrāko mānchekai dvāramā pugos/
Sārā jivanāko dhoko eṭai pyāramā pugos/
Samāja nabanos hūla, nabanos vyakti ekalā/
Viśāla dharti hoos mahāmilanako thalā//
Bharī amṛta ātmāmā āmḥāmā jyoti sundara/
Pūrṇatātira saṃsāra baḍhirai' cha nirantara/
Pūrṇa candra banos loka, ekaeka vyakti hos kalā/
Viśāla dharti hoos mahāmilanako thalā// (ibid.)
13. Aṭerī garcha tanderi, ...
Yalle āśramako āja niyamaī bhaṅga garcha ki? (SGN: 15)
14. Nārī hun yī kṣamāmūrti kṣamā ākhir gardachin. (SGN: 43)
15. Āphūlai sadhaiṃ dhāmṭi dhāmṭna saktaina kvai pani/
Duī vyaktitvamā bāṃcī bāṃcna saktaina kvai pani// (SGN: 48)
16. For a brief introduction to the poet and an annotated translation of his first essay together with a commentary see my : "Lakṣmīprāsāda Devakoṭa's 'The Fifteenth of the Month of Āṣāḍha' ", in : *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 20, No.2, 1993, pp. 149-164.
17. Yo ke garirahēkā chau? Ke bhanlā naralokale (SGN: 42)
18. Satya huncha sadhaiṃ sojho, tyai bhancha naralokale (SGN: 42)
19. "Satya sojho huncha", in: *Lakṣmīnibhandhasaṃgraha*, Kāṭhamāḍaṃ: Sājhā Prakāśana, B.S. 2044, pp. 236-238.

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A NOTE ON SOME TYPICAL ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS OF WESTERN NEPAL

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Introduction

Western Nepal, including the whole mountainous and hilly regions, was prosperous during the rule of Khasa King from the twelfth century to fourteenth century A. D. The political hegemony where Khasa King ruled all over the hilly regions was expanded up to the Gandaki river in the east and Kumaun region in the west. The historical and socio-religious influences on material arts and crafts of the region are quite illustrable. Not only were the religious art and craft commonly fostered in the region but also the secular art objects appeared through the means of social service activities made by the King and commoners in the history of western Nepal.

Secular architectural design of western Nepal can be defined as the buildings which had been used as the social interaction between people to people or rulers to common citizen. Mainly three types of potential structures included in this article are as follows:

- A. *Naulo* (Reservoir)
- B. *Dhungedhara / Mangrha* (Water conduit)
- C. *Baithaka* (Pillared Pavilion)

Architecture based on secular design particularly convey the medium of social activities of the welfare state. It has also given equal opportunity to the people for sharing the state achievements in the means of social works. Therefore, states apparatus actively induced on such various social works besides their strong political achievements. These represent in the means of art objects namely *naulo*, *dhungedhara* and *baithaka*. They are described in detail in following sub-topics.

A. Naulo(Reservoir)

When we study the development of secular art of the region, it is essential to know that the king and the commoner both were equally eager to maintain the tradition of social activities. For example, to facilitate drinking water to the villagers was considered as one of the vital achievements for the state. Considering the problem of drinking water for villagers and travelers, many types of water conduits and reservoirs were constructed in each and every villages. For the sake of longevity almost all of them were constructed from hewn stones available in the surroundings. Likewise, many such types of reservoirs have been built in house structure so that it would not be contaminated easily by outsiders. Many of them are still standing as a structural form of which front part is left open. Walls have been built horizontally joined by thin mud mortar. The structure is made in an enclosure of stone walls of five meters in height, and mainly the front is left for open veranda. Each and every pillar is decorated with the designs of *ghatapallava* and different creatures such as dove, horse, lion and peacock. Some other pillars' shaft are also decorated with small images of various gods and goddesses on the niches. The roof of the reservoir is made of flat sheet of stones in diminishing character, which almost all of them are in five or eleven courses. And the top of the roof is decorated with round *amalakasila*. For details, some important *naulos* are given below:

1. Naulo of Chipur: Chipur village is about 10 km west of the district headquarters of Dadeldhura. On the east of village end the *naulo* is located on mountain slope. It is the two-storeyed and exhibits some distinct characters which could be hardly found elsewhere in the region. The *naulo* has been constructed for supplying water from reservoir and water conduit side by side. Also, it has been constructed with living room on the uppermost floor in order to provide the shelter for the travelers (Figure 1). Thus, it exhibits a multi-functional architecture in the region.

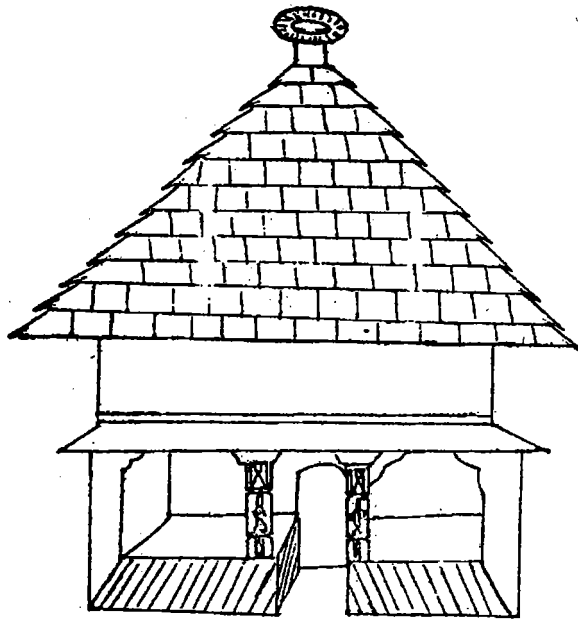


Figure 1: Naulo of Chipur

The inner side of the *naulo* is covered with a water tank, and to reach the water level, there are stone steps in diminishing character. The steps are five in receding order, which is about 50 cm deep from the ground (Figure 2). On either side of inner wall of the *naulo*, there are two water spouts in the case of dry season when people could fetch water easily.

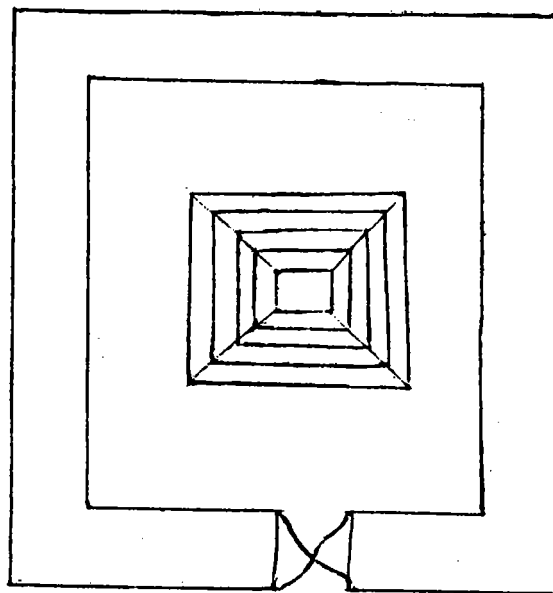


Figure 2: Ground Plan of Chipur Naulo

The *naulo* is made of sand stones in light brown colour. The flat stones are joined almost by thin mud mortar. The facade of the superstructure is left open with veranda on both sides. One meter broad passage leads to the water tank which also separates the porch on both sides, measuring one meter high. The pillars are highly decorated with the designs of the foliages, *puṇnaghata* and figures of the warrior on subsequent small niches. For example, the faces of two pillars are carved out in the following designs:

Pillar of left side

- Face 1. Person riding on a horse
- Face 2. Person standing with a tiger
- Face 3. Foliages design
- Face 4. Person holding a staff

Pillar of right side

- Person riding on a horse
- Puṇnaghata* design
- Puṇnaghata* design
- Puṇnaghata* design

However, almost all figures are crude in nature it unfolds a skill of the prevalent style of the then art. On the south is a flight of steps which lead to the upper floor of the *naulo*. The inner hall of the *naulo* is simple in design, where 15 to 20 people can take rest easily. The roof of the open hall is supported by a single pillar which is placed amid of the hall. The pillar, on the entrance door, contains the figure of a horse rider with a sword in one hand and a bridle on the other.

The structure is roofed with stone slates overlapping in a receding order lower from the eaves. Almost eleven courses of the stone slates are used in roofing and is crowned by round *amalakasila*. The stone trunk where the *amalaka* rests on, is thick and rather cylindrical. It is perhaps a distinct character to be found in the region.

There is a strong belief that the *naulo* was built by Hati Bhat, a powerful minister of Naga Malla (1384-1411 A. D.). During the time of consecration of the structure, as it is said, he got a permission from the king to build the *naulo* at this very site.

Naulo of Ajayamer: On the northern direction of Ajayamer are two *naulos* on the slope of the mountain. Among them, the eastern one has still been serving drinking water to the local villagers. It a single storey and contains the water tank in its interior. It has also a open veranda on both sides of the structure and raises 90 cm from the ground level (figure 3). To reach the inner side of the *naulo* there is a 1.18 meter narrow passage. Two decorated pillars are standing upon the platform which supports the roof of the *naulo*.

Both monolithic pillars are 1.35 meter high and have the figures of different gods and goddesses. The interior part of the *naulo* is covered with water tank with deep square steps made of dressed stone slabs. The domical ceiling is in diminishing character and is decorated with a full bloom of the lotus in its centre. Among the figures in the niches a pair of male and female has been executed in different postures such as one is standing with folding hands and another is dancing in ecstasy. The dark brown stones are used in the whole structure and is roofed with flat stones. The finial of the *naulo* is decorated with *amalakasila* as its crown.

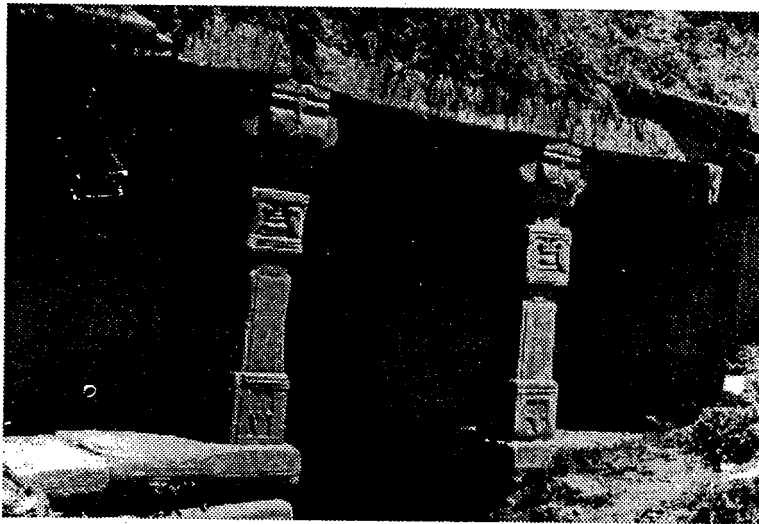


Figure 3

The art represented here is extensively important in its masonry work compared to the *naulo* of Chipur. And the selection of the stones shows a skill in the construction of reservoir for the use of commoner and the king. Similarly, the moulding of the stones more or less give distinct idea of stone masonry in this region.

Pathernauli Naulo of Dullu: On the south-west corner of Dullu Kot there is a stone structure named *Pathernauli*. Previously, its interiorit was covered by the soil. It was Yogi Naraharinath who had dug it out and exposed the original structure of reservoir during his visit in the area. The inscription over the entrance of the *naulo* reveals that it was made by Devavarma, the minister of Prithivi Malla in Sake 1280 (1358 A. D.). The inscription reads 'wapi has been made in order to provide the resting place

for all the creatures and decorated with five celestial chaityas on its top'. The *naulo* is named '*wapi*' in Sanskrit, which was frequently used for reservoirs at that time.



Figure 4

The *naulo* stands on 5.90 meter square plan, and the wall has been built with thick stone beams placed horizontally which cover almost half portion of the either side of the wall's layer (Figure 4). One single stone measures 4.10 meter length, indicates the local knowledge of durability in one hand and the selection of the material available in the area on the other. The main entrance, unlike the *naulo* of Ajayamer, is attached with an open veranda supported by thick wall. It consists of a two meter wide open space which provides the resting place for travelers. The open entrance door is 1.36 meter wide and inscription is carved out on the above beam that supports the burden of the roof. The inner water tank is not seen easily as it has been left unused for a long time. The thickness of the inner wall is 90 cm and the ceiling of the *naulo* represents full blossom of the floral motives. On the top of the roof of *naulo* is one small Buddhist chaitya. Previously, there were five chaityas in a cardinal point and one in the centre of the structure.

But all of them have been dismantled except one. The existing chaitya has been built from dressed stones with simply piling on its square base. Thus, the *naulo* of Dullu represents a distinct style used as a reservoir at the time of the then state.

Similarly, *Siva Naulo* of Dewalhat, Baitadi has an open arched entrance raising up to 1.40 meter from the ground. The *naulo* is built in 1.90 meter square plan and a thick stone *amalaka* surmounts the roof. The *naulo* has been attached with another room on its right. However, the attached room has now been collapsed and only the pillars and the remains of the wall indicate its existence. In the small niche of the entrance wall, is a figure of male. It also further shows a distinct character of art motives of the twelfth century A. D.

Likewise, the *naulo* of Kuchi, Achham represents a Buddhist chaitya on its top. The chaitya is made of dressed stone blocks and stands in one meter high from the base. The entablature of the chaitya has engraved sign of serpent which encircles the structure. This is, no doubt, a distinct character prevalent in the region.

B. Mungrha or Dhungedhara (Water Conduit)

Mungrha is also known as *Dhungedhara* which is extensively found almost at every temple's surrounding and ancient route of the then state. Its main function is to supply water to the villagers and travelers. *Dhungedharas* is simple in design and has a distinct type of skills and technique used on rock stone. It is mostly built in open space against the wall on which few of them are in half roofing structure. The half structure is supported by the pillars, which is akin to open pillared hall. Below the water taps, essentially *amalaka*-quois and bud-shaped motives are carved in single or double horizontal layers of the wall. Thomas M. C. Pinhorn (1989:15-22) has described about water points, a distinct style of water conduit that abundantly found in Dailekh and Jumla. However, the local version and the style of *mungra* in Dadeldhura and Baitadi appear different. Local people commonly called it as *mungrha* in this region. The style of the *mungrha* is almost same in nature, which mostly has a crocodile's face (*Makarakriti*) in the front. Some of them are carved skillfully, yet the face and eyes are dangerous in looking. Tradition has it that most of the *mungrhas* are made in group of two, three or four spouts equally at the level of 1.20 meter high from ground surface. On both sides of the spouts open benches must have been built, it is for short time rest or might have a place for keeping water vessels.

Most of the water conduits are in ruins except some of them are intact. However, some water conduits are renovated by the local people using the original materials.

1. Mungrha of Ajayamer: The *Mungrha* or *dhungedhara* of Ajayamer can be distinctively elucidated for its art design. It is built on the lap of the steep mountain overlooking to the south. The *mungrha* has been constructed with veranda supported by the pillars. Among four pillars in front, two are broken up while rest of other exhibit a distinct carving skills.

The back wall is extensively covered with many miniature figures of gods, men and creatures in a systematic order consisting of four horizontal levels and eight rows of its vertical width. The detail descriptions are in following table:

Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
First Level	Pair of duck facing each	Male standing and Female Dancing	Two Swans	Sun god with lotus flower	Ganesh in dancing	Female in sitting	Male in standing	Horse Figure
Second Level	Three Lozenges	Female in standing	Female in sitting	Female in dancing	Female in sitting	Female in dancing	Single Lozenge	Lozenge
Third Level	Male in standing	Lozenge	Five Lozenges	Twelve Lozenge	Three Lozenges	Small Lozenge	Lozenges	Unclear
Fourth Level	Male figure with lozenge	Three Lozenges	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Lozenge	Unclear	Unclear

It is, therefore, necessary to mention here that the water conduit of Ajayamera is distinct in its representation of gods and many other creatures. The deities so far depicted here are fine and carved out on smooth stone slab, widely available in this area. The figures of Sun god and Ganesh are carved out in their respective posture, which are more or less based on ancient Hindu texts.

Mostly the spout of the water conduit is made in *makara* design, and only a few of them are in the shape of a cow's face. These are in different size ranging from 20 cm to 50 cm long, and half of their portion is inserted into a wall. The destroyed *dhara* of Vinayak of Achham suggests that a long baked clay pipe had been used for getting underground water. Many *mungrhas* or water conduits have 25 cm of their exposed part and contain simple hole for draining. The carving layers of the stones placed on the back wall, indicate the tendency of durability *vis-a-vis* the skill of their craftsmanship.

Some other *mungrhas* are, however, in dilapidated condition, and yet they unfold the technique of stone masonry of their respective time. As in the case of *naulo*, *mungrha* also serves the resting room for the travelers. Mainly there are two kinds of *mungrhas*, with resting place and a temple on the above. These features were widely prevalent at that time.

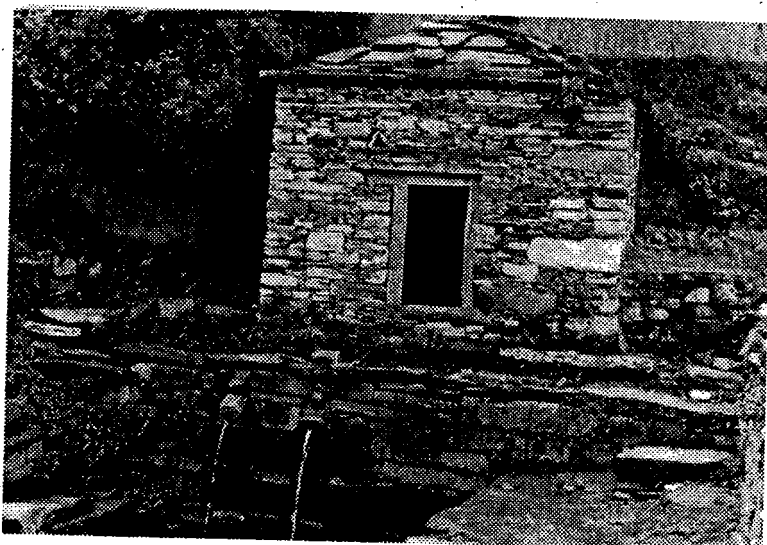


Figure 5

In Dullu Jarkot a *devala* (stone temple) on the upper level of *mungrha* is quite interesting. The *Mungrha* is made with a pair of spout in *makara* style, the common style found elsewhere in the region. The temple measures 4.45 meter high and represents common *sikhara* style. Vimal *dhara* of Thalara also has its own style (Figure 5). On the upper level of this *mungrha* is a small temple with slate roof, and with the image of Laxminarayan placed in its interior. Although the image is not significant in artistic style, it has, no doubt, played an important role at the time of rise of Thalahara principality in thirteenth century A. D.

The *mungrhas* of Sampubada and Dasaudibada of Jumla are surmounted by the stupas on above. In Sampubada there are five and in Dasaudibada two Buddhist stupas are in miniature forms, extensively indicating the faith of Buddhism at the time of Khasa Kings. Many other stupas are placed on the open ground and are made of stones simply piled over the square plan. Particularly the middle part of the structure is in shallow character.



Figure 6

The *mungrhas* of simple structure are extensively found in every corner of the ancient route. They are built against the wall and are chiseled with many moulding shapes on horizontal stones. Mostly amalaka-quois are necessarily placed in single or double layers of the wall and are commonly built with benches on both sides (Figure 6).

C. Baithaka (Pillared Pavilion)

In the architectural history of western Nepal, pillared pavilions play a very important role, and they have extensively been fostered by the kings in this region. Except Dadeldhura, this type of architectural models cannot be found elsewhere in the region. In Dadeldhura district there are four pillared pavilions in numbers, among them three are concentrated around the Ajayamer fort, the medieval headquarters of the state, while one lies in the vicinity of Chipur village. Among the pillared pavilions of Ajayamer, only one has still been preserved its original structure while the remaining are nearly dilapidated. Pillared pavilions of western Nepal are considered as a meeting place of the king along with his people or chief of the administrator. Legend has it that it is also the Justice platform of the King where he delivered his judgment before the audience.

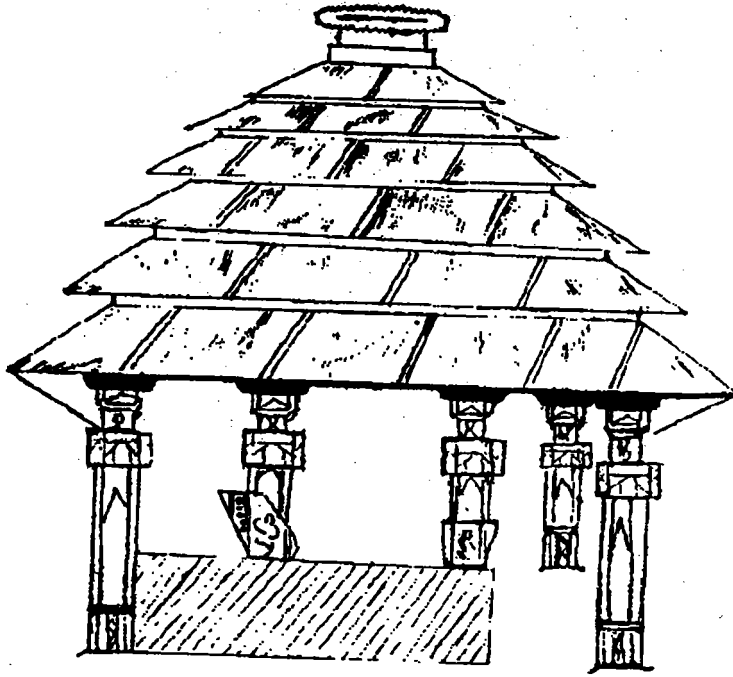


Figure 7

The *baithaka* near the house of Gangunatha, a local resident is perhaps a marvelous stone masonry of Western Nepal (Figure 7). The family of Gangunath still is using as a cow-shed in its open hall. It stands on 4.60 meter square plan and the super structure is supported by twelve stone pillars. Among them two pillars in the front of the hall rest upon 2.02 x 1.00 x 0.45 meter raised basement. Two pillars of the basement are decorated heavily with the flapper vase that raises 25 cm upward (Figure 8). The vases of both pillars have the beads design on either side and with the figure of the dancing female. The female is decorated with head dress, necklace made of beads and *dhoti* as a lower garment. However, the eastern base of this pillar is damaged, its western portion is more or less intact. Other pillars of the open hall, have the design of *purnaghata* and other foliage designs. One of them is smooth with simple carving, and extensively exhibits a distinct feature.



Figure 8

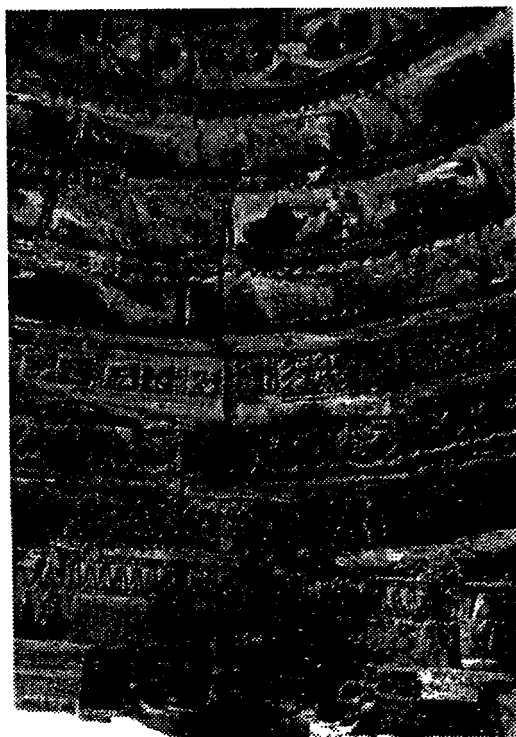


Figure 9

The domical ceiling of open hall is fashioned with a constructive work of arts. The interior ceiling of the hall is oval with courses of the cornice and their exposed parts are carved out on different level in a receding circle (Figure 9). For example, the first level is decorated with half cup-shaped design. The second level depicts the figure of ducks with curving tails. Similarly, the third level shows the design of lotus rosette and fourth level has in semi-circulars. The central part of the ceiling is covered with a lotus in full blossom and a pendent bud in its center. The outer roof is made of overlapping stone sheet in a receding order. Thus, the pillared hall near Gangunath's house is still preserving a distinct stone carving skill of the then period.

Another pillared hall is situated on the mountain slope which is overlooking the ancient fort of Ajayamera. It stands on 3.00 meter square base. The roof of the pillared hall is entirely damaged. Artistically the pillar's shaft is noteworthy to describe especially its minutely carving designs. It stands by six pillars of which three are heavily carved out the designs of flower motives and the figures of different gods and goddesses. The pillars of eastern and southern corner contain the figures of Ganesh sitting on a shrew his vehicle. The other six-handed figure of Ganesh has the emblems of battle axe, rosary, carrot, a bowl of sweets etc. Similarly, the pillar of south-east corner has the symbols and figures of different deities. For example, the details of one of the single pillar is as follows:

- South Face – Sun god holding lotus with his two hands
- West Face – Śiva dancing with highly flexible posture
- North Face – Three females dancing in ecstasy with a drum in center figure
- East Face – Lozenge on a niche

Therefore, the pillared pavilion has been preserving a distinct character up to this time especially in its art carving .

The third pillared hall is situated on the edge of the rivulet which is just below the ancient fort of Ajayamer. It stands on 3.65 meter square plan with eight supportive pillars, and its height is not less then 3 meter. It also contains the designs of *purnaghata*, geometrical and criss-cross on the shaft of the pillars. The stone used here is rather soft and the figures are less artistic in representation. Almost all pillars contain the designs of *purnaghata*, commonly found elsewhere.

The fourth pillared hall of Chipur is now in ruins and only few pillars on the ground display its earlier existence. Also it has used the soft stone similar to the pillars already mentioned in the third pillared hall of Ajayamer. It has also a rectangular plan of 2.75 x 3.75 meter and once had been supported by eight monolithic pillars.

Thus, the examination of the pillared pavilion reprints a great masonry of the architecture of western Nepal. The shaft of the pillars is surmounted by abacus that supports the whole burden of the superstructure. The bracket of the pillar is made of single stone as rightly narrated by Cousens (1985:5) that all Hindu made pillars are widely found in single stone. This is why the Hindu masons virtually make strong structures out of rock-cut stone consisting various designs.

To sum up, Western Nepal has fostered the art and architectural designs along with its strong political stability in the region. Many art forms indeed show the religious and cultural integration of the people's life cycle. These architectural examples with no doubt, are the outcome of the economic prosperity of the state. Hence, the credit goes to the rulers for their indulgence in the development of various art forms during 13th to 15th century A. D. However, many religious art and architectural designs abundantly found in the hilly region, have preserved the traditional religious values and cultural prosperity of the state till now. It is noteworthy that the motives used in the material art deserve more cultural study of the history of Western Nepal.

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Appendix 1***Distribution of Naulo in Western Nepal***

Name	Place	District	Location	Condition
ChipurnaULO	Chipur	Dadeldhura	on mountain slope	not on use
Siva naulo	Dewal hat	Baitadi	on gentle slope	on use
PathernaULI	Dullu	Dailekh	on gentle slope	not on use
KapoornaULI	Dullu	Dailekh	on mountain slope	not on use
Naulo	Ajayamer	Dadeldhura	on mountain slope	on use
Naulo	Jayaghar	Achaam	on mountain slope	on use
Naulo	Padukasthan	Deilekh	in front of temple	on use
Naulo	Kuchi	Achaam	village edge	on use
Deu naulo	Patagaun	Bajhang	on mountain slope	on use
Naulo	Bhatekhola	Bajhang	on mountain slope	on use

Appendix 2***Distribution of Mungrha or Dhungedhara in Western Nepal***

Name	Place	District	location	condition
Mungrha	Ajayamer	Dadeldhura	on mountain slope	not on use
Mungrha	Dewalbhanja	Bajhang	in front of temple	on use
Deulimungrha	Talkot	Bajhang	on cultivated land	on use
Mungrha	Mangalsen	Achaam	in front of the Palace	on use
Mungrha	Chhanna	Bajhang	in terrace field	on use
Mungrha	Vinayaka	Achaam	village end	not on use
Mungrha	Jarkot	Dailekh	on mountain slope	on use
Mungrha	Tate	Bajura	on mountain slope	not on use
Mungrha	Patagaun	Bajhang	on gentle slope	on use
Mungrha	Kuikada	Dailekh	on village end	on use
Mungrha	Kalikotdara	Kalikot	on mountain slope	on use
Mungrha	Bhatekhola	Bajhang	village end	on use
Mungrha	Sampudada	Jumla	gentle slope	on use
Mungrha	Dasaudidada	Jumla	plain land	on use
Mungrha	Ukhadi	Jumla	gentle slope	on use
Mungrha	Sunargaun	Jumla	gentle slope	on use
Vimaldhara	Thalhara	Bajhang	near palace	on use
Doki mungrha	Tate	Bajura	on mountain slope	on use
Mungrha	Pikhet	Bajhang	amid of village	on/use

Appendix 3

Distribution of Baithaka in Western Nepal

Name	Place	District	Location	Condition
Baithaka	Ajayamer	Dadeldhura	on mountain slope	dilapidated
Baithaka	Ajayamer	Dadeldhura	near the house	good
Baithaka	Ajayamer	Dadeldhura	near the stream	good
Baithaka	Chipur	Dadeldhura	on mountain slope	dilapidated

THE FUNCTION AND MEANING OF COMBS IN THE NEWAR CULTURE (NEPAL)¹

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The head is the first part of the human body we focus on to evaluate the character of persons before we interact with them. People consciously try to improve their appearances by combing their hair and decorating the head in beautiful styles, often revealing the strong cultural traditions of the society. In the Newar² society, hair style and head ornaments have significant ritual and social values on which has been no work published yet. Head ornaments show stages in rites of passage, socio-economic status, civil status, and religious affiliation (Manandhar 1992 :111 and photo appendix). In this article I will examine Newar hair dressing and in particular the types of the combs used for different functions, people who make them and what materials they are made up of.

According to tradition and social manner, uncombed and dispersed hair is an inauspicious sign which expresses depression and worry. Most Newars believe that meeting a person with dishevelled hair at first in the morning is inauspicious and will disturb their whole day. Therefore, the Newars comb their hair before starting the day.

Traditionally for daily hair care the Newars used the comb made of bamboo called *kakicā*³. Combs of different types are used for different functions and there is a kind of traditional brush called *thakūcā*⁴ made up of lot of needle shaped bamboo sticks. Newar women use this brush after their bath to arrange their hair before massaging it with mustard oil.



Photo 1. A Newar lady (Manandhar) is using the traditional brush, *thakūcā*, to arrange her hair. ⁵

Then, they use a comb, *kakicā*, for the style of their hair as they like. These combs are made of bamboo tied by cotton cord, style of their fabrications will be different according to their function.

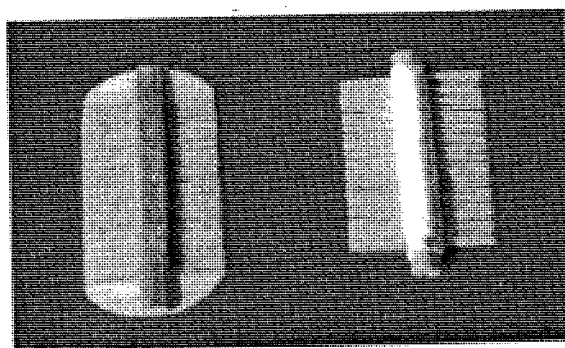


Photo 2. Two combs made of bamboo from left to right : 9 cm. L., 6 cm. b. & 8 cm. L., 5 cm. b.

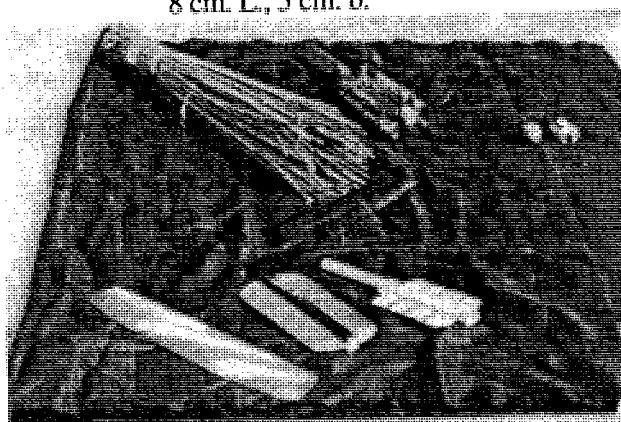


Photo 3. Some examples of combs and a traditional brush still used in the Newar society.

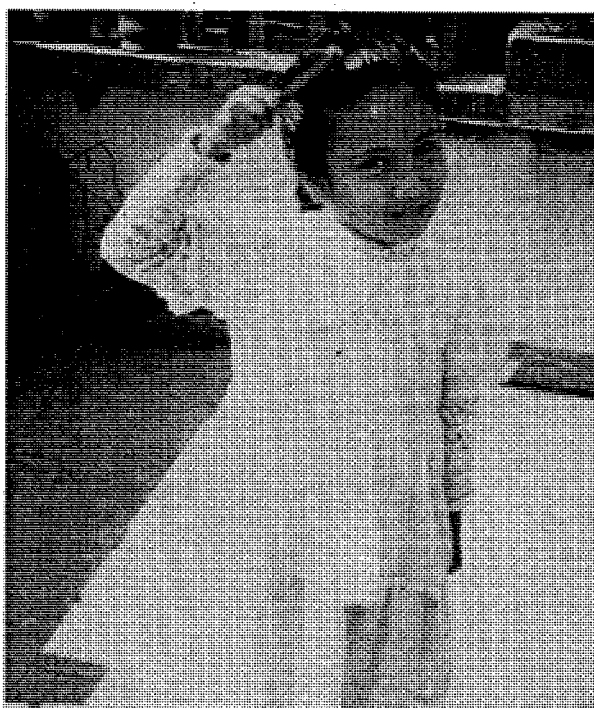


Photo 4. A girl using a comb with handle.

The Newars produce the bamboo comb with a 12 cm. long handle which makes it easier to comb hair.

The normal combs are made with simple teeth on both sides. There are special types of comb with tighter teeth to pick out lice and nits.

A skillful artist can make a comb for two functions; the right side is made with normal shaped teeth attached by one thread and the double banded left side threaded twice to make the teeth tighter and more efficient to pick out lice and nits.

The making of bamboo comb is a time consuming handicraft. Once the comb makers used to be an important part of culture. The bamboo comb makers in the urban area of the Kathmandu valley are rare to be found these days. Nowadays there is little demand of the bamboo comb among the urban people, who use plastic combs, which are cheaper and easily available. They use different chemical products to remove lice and nits, instead. Therefore, bamboo comb makers are not interested to continue their traditional skill in making special bamboo combs for removing lice and nits.

Comb Makers

The Newar comb makers come from different castes. The makers of the bamboo combs and brush are the Poḍe, who are considered as low caste and treated as untouchables. The silver comb makers are the gold-smiths belonging to the high caste Buddhists like the Vajrācārya, the Shākya, and the Tāmṛākār.

Materials for Making the Traditional Comb and Brush

To make the bamboo comb, the Poḍe use three materials : *pā* (thick bamboo) is cut into several small flat sticks. Both ends of sticks are pointed. These sticks are used as the teeth of the comb. A kind of thin bamboo, *nhāypā kathi*, is attached with these teeth and also extended as the handle of comb. Cotton thread woven across both sides of the comb holds the handle.

To make a traditional brush, the bamboo is cut into sticks ranging from 20 to 30 cm. The top of these sticks are then turned into the shape of a pointed needle. When enough needle shaped sticks are prepared, they are attached together and are bound by a jute thread, *nālukhipaḥ* or metal wire, *tār*.

The goldsmiths make the silver ritual comb, *wahaḥ kakicā*, by using about 100 grams of silver. It is made in their traditional work-shop, *gyāsaḥ*. The silver is liquidified by heating which is called *wahaḥkālegu*. Then, silver is given the shape of a comb. The handles are decorated with dancing peacock, butterfly, flowers or the eight auspicious symbols, *astaraṅgala*. The most traditional silver combs have the following eight auspicious symbols: an umbrella (*chatra*) a sea shell (*sankha*), two fishes (*yugala matshya*), an endless knot (*shrivatsa*), a water pot (*kalasha*), a lotus (*padma*) and a wheel (*cakra*). Unfortunately, the larger silver combs with these motifs are disappearing and are not being preserved by the Newars. Nowadays the gold-smiths only make the miniature form of silver combs as requested by their clients.

The silver comb comes in a set that consists of a comb itself and a decorated pin (*natūcā* or *natubhatucā*), which is used as a make-up tool as well as a hair decoration object. This set is made in the same process as the silver comb with different cuttings and motifs. Nowadays, the Newars use only miniature comb sets as the symbol of their tradition.

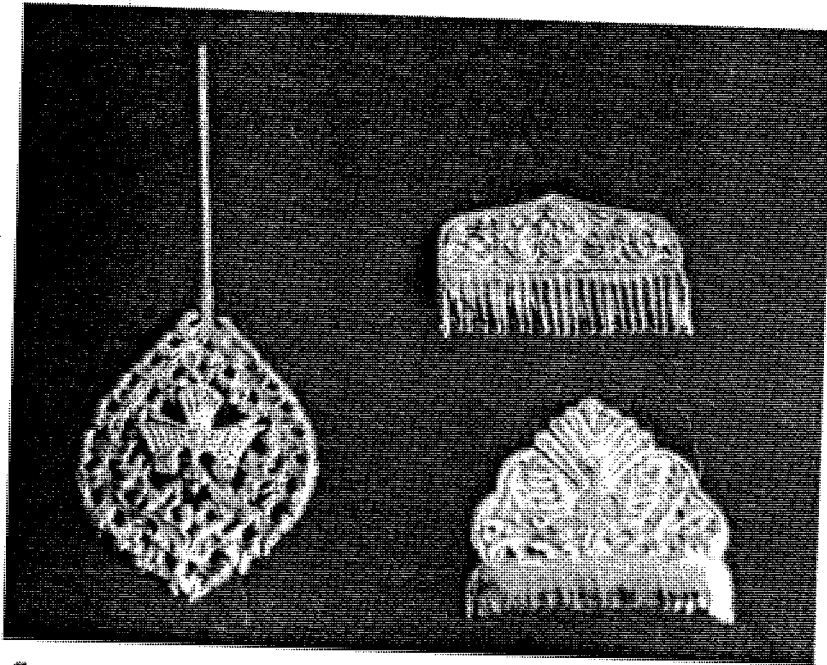


Photo 5. Some examples of the ritual combs *wahaḥkacā* accompanied by a pin : from top to bottom, 8 cm. L., 6 cm. b. and 8 cm. L. 7.5 cm. b. and *natubhatuā*, the pin, 20 cm. L., 8 cm. b. & 23 cm. diameter.

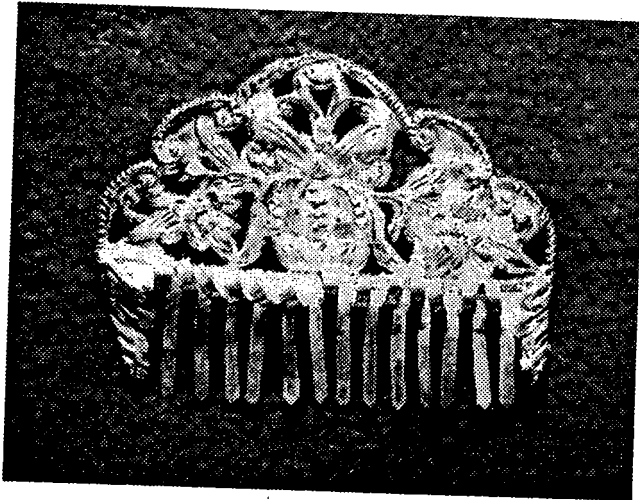
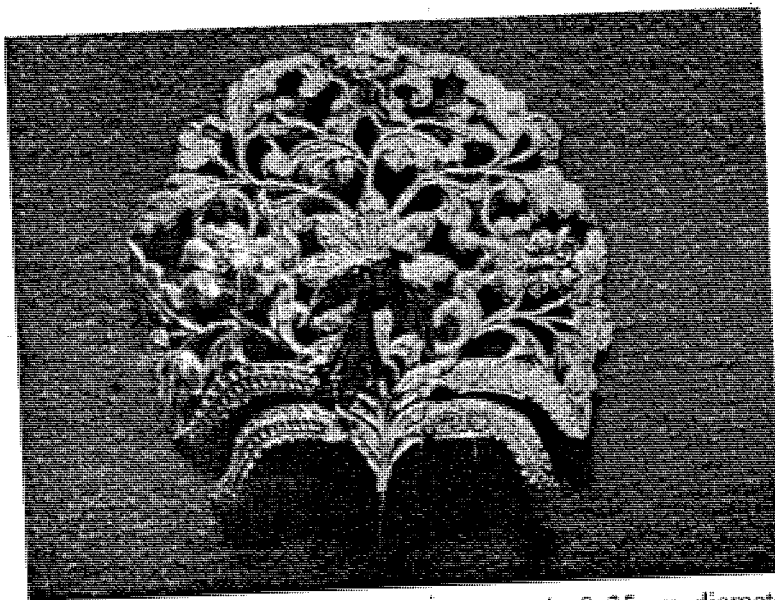


Photo 6. Ritual comb set used by Newars, 20 years ago
6. (a). Ritual comb, *wahaḥkacā*, 12 cm. L., 8 cm. b.



6. (b). Ritual pin, *natubhatuā*, 20 cm. L., 12 cm. b. & 35 cm. diameter.

Combs play an important role during Newar rituals particularly in following life cycle rites and rituals :

Sitting in the Cave, *bārhā taygu* : Interestingly the ceremony has only been described by male anthropologists⁶ based on interviews and none of them remarked on the importance of the comb in the ritual. The *bārhā taygu* life cycle ritual for young Newar girls is held before their first menstruation, between the age of 9 to 13. An astrologer works out an auspicious moment for the entrance ceremony for a girl to go into confinement. If the girl has her first menstruation before observing the ritual, she will be closed immediately in a dark room without these rites called *bārhā cwanegu*⁷. The rite held with or without entrance ceremony takes 12 days. During the first 11 days, the girl has to stay in a room without seeing sunlight and any male person. She has to practice some social rules. She must keep herself well groomed and stay cheerful. She learns to pay attention to family relations and to create harmony among the members, etc.⁸

On the fourth or the sixth day of confinement a ceremony called *koṃcikān sāykegu* is observed. That day, early in the morning, the girl purifies herself using mustard oil cake (*khau*) and bathing. The wife of the oldest male in the family, *thakālinakī*, makes an effigy of cotton called *bārhā khyā* which is placed in a niche, *gwakhānpwā*, or at the ceiling in the confined room. She is given one bowl of home made face washing

powder, *koṃ*⁹, another one is full of mustard oil, *chikān*¹⁰, a comb, *kakīcā* and other cosmetic objects. She offers all these things with a feast, *bhoy*¹¹ to the effigy then to the girl. From that moment the girl uses face make-up, has to pay constant respect to the effigy. She offers a small quantity of all the objects before she uses traditional cosmetics and the food she eats.

According to Allen (1982), during the ritual, *bārḥā*, the girl symbolically flatters the effigy, *bārḥā khyā*. As I am a Newar woman I had undertaken the rite and have had a lot of chances to carefully observe the ritual in other occasions. The elderly women would tease the confined girl that if *bārḥā khyā* did not come to sleep with you, he did not love you¹².

R. Pradhan (1986) wrote that the *bārḥā khyā* is a feminine effigy. I observed it to be a male figure or a couple in a pose with sexual overtone. Therefore, I think that either the ritual itself means the symbolic romance between the girl and *bārḥā khyā* or that during these days the girl is receiving lessons in sexual conduct as Allen analysed.

I conclude that during this period of the ritual the girl is prepared for conjugal life. By the way of teasing, she has a lesson of doing make-up to please *bārḥā khyā* by respecting and making herself attractive and cultivating cheerfulness. She is preparing for the life with her future husband. During these days the neighbours and friends come to play with the girl. One of their games is acting out dramas. By the means of these plays the girl is made aware of potential family problems and how to handle in-laws. All these experiences prepare her to be a good wife with *bārḥā khyā* as her symbolic husband.

The religious book, *swasthani brata kathā*, describes that the goddess Pārvati created a boy Ganeśa, out of the dust of face washing powder, *koṃkhi*. That means, she gives birth with the *koṃkhi*. During the ritual *bārḥā*, the girl utilises *koṃ* to wash herself. It signifies that she is ready to give birth and she is considered fertile.

The twelfth day of the confinement is celebrated with a great feast. Early in the morning, the girl takes a bath, the barber, *naunī* or butcher *naī*¹³, woman cuts the toenails and paints her feet with crimson colour, *alah*¹⁴. After she purifies herself with mustard oil-cake, she makes herself up using washing powder, *koṃ*.

The eldest man's wife, *thakālinaki*, combs the girl's hair by applying mustard oil. In Kathmandu, one hair knot in the middle of the girl's head is made. This knot is called *pwākay sapwa*, that is decorated with a red ribbon and an ornament called, *sapwa tisā*.



Photo 7. A girl with hair combed into a knot and decorated with an ornament ,
sapwa tisā by thakālinakī.

In Bhaktapur, Levy (1992 : 672) observed that the *nakī* (*thakālinakī*), combs the girl's hair and makes one plait instead of a knot. Most of the Newars comb either in the style of one knot or in one plait as a symbol of a married woman. Therefore, the *thakālinakī* combing the girl's hair in this style has great significance. With this grooming with the ritual comb, the girl is considered a complete adult who can have sexual relations and produce offspring. Thus, the family prepares the girl for marriage.

Nowadays, most of the girls cut their hair very short which makes it difficult to comb in these traditional styles. Even today the tradition of combing the girl's hair by the wife of senior man of the family continues symbolically with the comb and mustard oil.

Once the girl is groomed, dressed and well ornamented, she worships the god¹⁵. At the end of the worship, she receives vermilion, (*sincā*) on the centre front of her head by the wife of the senior in the family. If the girl has already married¹⁶ she receives it from her own husband.



Photo 8. Girl is receiving the vermillion, *sincā*, from the wife of the senior man in the family. (Photo collection of Shrestha family of Banepa)

The ceremony ends that same evening but the girl's groomed hair on that occasion is preserved for four more days.

As observed, the function of the comb has an important place in the ritual life cycle. The comb along with other materials for make-up is offered to the girl. In the case of a married girl¹⁷ these items are brought from her husband's family. I suppose that indicates the girl's status in the family and her link with the family.

List of the ritual toiletries

Name in Newari	Used for	Made of
<i>ajah</i>	black paste, applied around the eyes lids	smoke of borne medicinal herbs mixed with mustard oil
<i>ajahsaki</i>	container of black paste, <i>ajah</i>	silver
<i>chikān</i>	make-up, moisturises the hair	mustard oil
<i>chikān kholā</i>	bowl of oil	silver or bronze
<i>jwālānhāy kān</i>	mirror to see oneself	silver or bronze decorated with flame motif

Name in Newari	Used for	Made of
<i>kakicā</i>	comb to comb hair	bamboo
<i>kom</i>	home made washing powder to wash face and body	mixed flour made of barley, rice and mustard seeds
<i>komkholā</i>	container for washing powder	silver or bronze
<i>sincā</i>	head decoration	vermilion
<i>sinaḥ</i>	forehead decoration	vermilion
<i>sinaḥmū</i>	container for vermilion	silver or bronze

After observation of the rite, I conclude that the above mentioned objects are directly linked with family relationship. The *bārhā* is a ritual of the girl's admission into her family as a complete adult. With the combing of her hair by the wife of senior in the family and using all objects, she enters the family as a rightful adult member or if married, her hair is ritually combed and groomed by the paternal senior most by applying the comb sent from her husband's family. By the means of the comb, she not only enters both families but ties relations between the two families. Thus, the comb becomes an important object in family relationship.

Marriage and Combs

Traditionally, the parents arrange the marriage of their children. From the initial search for an appropriate candidate till the end of the marriage ceremony many ritual exchanges take place. All these exchanges and negotiations are held only on Thursday, which is considered an auspicious day for conjugal relations¹⁸. After a long negotiation between two families, they fix the dates of the ritual ceremonies. During these marriage ceremonial exchanges, the comb will be given to the bride as a ritual gift on four different occasions.

(a) Among the Manandhar and the Maharjan (Jyāpu), the first gift of a comb is presented by the future groom to his future bride. With the help of a matchmaker, (*lāmi*), both families negotiate for the marriage between their son and daughter and fix the date of the ritual ceremonies. The groom's side sends the first gift to the bride along with the indication of the auspicious time given by the astrologer for marriage. This gift is called *lākhābiyegu*¹⁹. Among the Vajrācārya, Shākya, Tulādhār, Shrestha, Tāmākār, Chitrakār, etc., send ten betel-nuts,²⁰ a betel-nut box made of silver called *lāmpicā*, and a one rupee coin as the first gift to the future bride (Vajrācārya,

1980:21). This gift is called *gwayabiygu*²¹ which is ritual confirmation of the engagement among the future bridegroom. The Vajrācārya, Shākya, Tulādhār and the few castes of the Shrestha send second gift called *sisāphusā nakah wanegu* (Vajrācārya 1980:22)²². Thus, the ritual process *lākhābiyegu* may happen as the first gift sending process and in some cases it occurs as the second or the third process only. Therefore, this ritual process of gift sending depends on various castes and their tradition.

Anyway, the gift *lākhābiyegu* should comprise of twelve *lākhāmari* sweets, a comb, one box of vermilion and a hair plait decoration *sacikā*, and a piece of cloth for a blouse. Depending on the economic condition of the family the following are also included; a jewellery set, clothes set, a make-up set, fresh and dried fruits, and a varieties of sweets. Among the Manandhar this gift is accompanied by ten betel nuts and a document given by the astrologer indicating the auspicious moment of the wedding.

With the worship to the god, Ganeś, the future bride accepts all these gifts and uses the comb, vermilion and *sacikā*. As soon as she uses these things she is considered a partial member of the groom family.

(b) The girl's parents give her all the necessary objects for a conjugal life as gift. This is called *kosah* and is composed of clothes, a kitchen set, worshipping utensils, a bedroom set, a make-up set including a comb and a hair brush to arrange her hair early in the morning each day.

(c) The next day or the fourth day after the main marriage ceremony, *hōnkegu*, there is a ritual, *sānpyākegu*, held at the groom's house. All the necessary objects for this performance are sent by the bride's natal home, as her ritual gift. This gift contains a set to worship Ganeś as well as the newly married couple. This worship is accompanied by ritual snacks called, *sagān*²³, and a set of traditional make-up objects :

Name of the object	Explanation
<i>ajahsali</i>	a small silver box to keep a kind of home made herbals black paste, <i>ajah</i>
<i>ci kān kholā</i>	oil pot made of silver or bronze with full of mustard oil
<i>dumsipā, cusāpā</i>	porcupine thorn
<i>jwālānhāyakān</i>	ritual mirror made of silver and decorated around with flame motif
<i>kakicā</i>	ordinary comb made of bamboo
<i>kalaśa</i>	holly water pot made of silver or copper
<i>komkhokā</i>	decorative silver bowl filled with traditional face washing powder, <i>kom</i>

Name of the object	Explanation
<i>kumbaḥkā</i>	a kind of yellow thread prepared by virgin girl.
<i>mhaykhāpā</i>	peacock feather
<i>natubhatuā, natūcā</i>	a needle point tool made of silver its one side is extended in the form of head ornament with the flowers and birds motifs.
<i>sinhaḥmū</i>	a decorative silver container of vermilion with filled with vermilion
<i>s wān</i>	flowers, a pink rose and a white narcissi is compulsory
<i>thakūcā</i>	hair brush made of needle pointed bamboo sticks
<i>wahāḥkaticā</i>	silver comb decorated by the various images

The newly married bride preserves all above mentioned objects as her genuine gift from her natal home. Once using these things during the *sānpyākegu* ritual, they become her personal property. Most Newar women keep these objects for the future ritual ceremonies of their children.



Photo 9. The principle make-up objects of the *sānpyākegu* ritual : In front, from left to right, silver comb, *wahāḥkaticā*, vermilion box, *sinhaḥmū*, needle pointed tool, *natūcā* or *natubhatuā*; behind, the mirror, *jwālanhyā ykān*, vermilion container, *sinhaḥmū*, home made washing powder container, *kom khola* and oil container, *chikān khola*.

Utilisation of the combs during the ritual *sānpyākegu*: Early in the morning, the newly married bride purifies herself with a bath. She then takes her seat in front of the sacred fire place, *homa*, where the fire will

witness her husband combing her hair. He then continues to decorate his newly married wife with the above mentioned objects. In this article I concentrate only on comb, brush and head grooming functions.

At first, he applies mustard oil on the bride's head. Symbolically, he combs her hair with the silver comb, (*wahah kakicā*). In fact, he uses the bamboo brush and comb to arrange the hair. He divides her hair into five parts by the help of a decorated pin called *natubhatucā* or *natūcā*²⁴. He makes five knots, *nyāgaḥ sapwaḥ*. These five knots are placed as follows : the principle one on the top middle of the head, one just above the top front of the head, another at the back side just above the neck and the other two are above the left and right ears (Vajrācārya, (N. S. 1103) 1983 : 60). They are considered by the Newars as five Buddha, (*pancabuddha*)²⁵ as well as five essentials elements of the life, (*pancatatwa*)²⁶.

At the end of the hair grooming with the silver comb, (*wahahkakicā*), and the pin, (*natūcā*) is pinned into the knots as head ornaments. Once fixed in place they are bound and circled by yellow thread, *kumbahkā* as shown in Photo 10 (b).



Photo 10 (a). The *sīnpyākegu* ritual, The groom is doing a bride's hair dressing.



10. (b). Doing the hair dressing ceremony and make-up.

According to the Newars of Banepa and Bhaktapur, there is no strict rule to make five knots during this ritual, it may be only one at the top of the head. The important part of the ritē is to comb the hair with a silver comb, oil and give the vermilion to the bride in front of the fire. The silver comb set is an important object; even a poor family offers a miniature form of it²⁷. The other above mentioned objects may be made in less precious metals according to the family's economic capacity.

Both combing and oiling the hair is *lakṣha*, an auspicious act. The placing of vermilion is the sign of happiness, (*saubhāgya*), which is considered auspicious for beginning of conjugal life. At the end of the grooming, he holds the traditional mirror, (*jwālānhāykān*) for her to see herself. Now they are socially allowed to share the conjugal bed. With this ritual the bride and groom promise to have children and to continue the family. Most of the Newars believe that the ritual authorises the newly married man to have control over his wife's sexuality. The Newars do the *sānpyākegu* ritual before they share the conjugal bed as the newly married couple in the process of reproducing offspring. Among the Indian (Hindu), one kind of ritual called *simantā* is done to purify the uterus and to protect the foetus during the first pregnancy of a woman (Pandey 1969 : 64-69). Though the celebration period of the ritual *sānpyākegu* among the Newars and *simantā* in India are different, all processes as well as the goals are similar.

The silver comb has a great significance. According to traditional belief, silver is a metal associated with the moon. Silver has the power to pacify bad influence or danger from the planets. On the other hand silver is considered to be the symbol of moon and is linked with birth (Vajracarya 1983:6). The Newars believe that silver metal has power of moon's constant rebirth. The menstrual period of a woman functions similarly as that of the rebirth cycle of the moon. The ritual *sānpyākegu* concerns the newly married couple's duty to generate the offspring of the family. Therefore, the utilisation of silver comb both purifies and protects the uterus and the foetus.

(d) Four days after the main ceremony of the marriage, *kwāhswawanegu*²⁸ will be held. The bride's natal family members as well as their close relatives, friends and neighbours visit her at her husband's home. Each visitor offers a gift to her. The natal family gifts a make-up set along with a comb, a set of clothes and other things like: jewellery, gold coin, money, sweets and fruits.

Comb and Brush during Funeral Rites

When a person dies, all of his immediate family members as well as relatives observe mourning. Among the family members, the mourning period will last for one year and among the relatives it will last from four to forty-five days. During the mourning period, many kinds of taboos are observed by the family of the deceased's family. One of their first observances is to leave their hair uncombed and not use any head ornaments, hats or make-up. The chief mourners (sons and wife) and immediate family members take off their head ornaments or decoration. Men take off their caps and the women unfasten their node or plait.

None of the family members comb the hair until their first phase of purification is held. The purification date is different from person to person according to the relationship with the deceased. The married daughters of the dead person purify on the fourth day of death. They can then comb the hair without applying oil. The other family members have to wait until the tenth day to comb their hair²⁹. The daughter of the deceased apply oil only after forty-five day, in the *latyā* ceremony. Other married daughters of the family can apply oil on the twelfth day after home purification rite, *gahsū*. During *gahsū*, close relatives can comb their hair and apply oil with the

exception of deceased's wife and sons. A comb, brush and oil are all used in performing the ritual of purification.

The Purification Ritual, *dūbyenkegu* and the Hair Brush: Certain: Buddhists perform purification on the seventh day of the death and almost all other Newars on the tenth day. They wash all their utensils and purify the whole house on that day³⁰. All the family members go to the river side near the cremation ground where the dead body was burned. They perform ritual purification and free themselves from the pollution.

The family priest, the barber and his wife will be present at the river side. The wife of the family barber cuts the toe nails of all the adult family members, *lusithiykegu*.³¹ The barber shaves the head, eyebrows, moustache and beard of the chief mourner, *mitaimha* (son of the dead person), the other sons, and as well all adult men's head of the cognate family of the dead person. This ritual is called *sāṅkhāyegu* (Toffin, 1971). After the above two actions they all take several purification baths by applying different objects:

At the river side, each of them use a kind of liquid, *āti*³² on their head and wash it with a pot of water mixed with ash and filtered called *khālah*³³

They brush their hair by the traditional brush, *thakūcā*, wash their face with home-made face-washing powder, *kom*, apply mustard oil cake, *khau*, and a pot of river water to purify themselves, rub their head by a kind of fruit, *ambah*, (*emblica officinalis*) and a *hallah* (*myrobolan*) and then plunge into the river.

The last bath will be taken by using a white jasmine, *dāphaswān*. It makes them more or less free from the death pollution, they then offer water to the Sun God.

The family priest sprinkles a substance over the family members a kind of holy mixture, ritually composed of five elements: a product of cow urine, dough, milk, ghee and yoghurt called *pancagabe* (Dubois, 1990 : 152-153). The priest then shows them a ritual mirror made of bronze or silver, called *jwālānhāykān*, and gives the white dresses to the chief mourners (sons and wife), which they wear during one year mourning period.

The priest then gives some rice to all of them to worship the river and the sun.

After completing all these process, the close relatives will be purified from the pollution of death. They are now considered to be free from sadness and depression, *dūbenkegu*.

The Second Step of Purification and Combing the Hair: On the twelfth day of the death³⁴, the home purification ceremony is performed by performing a fire sacrifice, *homa*, at the place where the dead person took his last breath. This ritual is called, *ghahsū*, and all the family members and couples of *phuki* (cognate family members), who play a vital role during the cremation must participate. The *ghahsū* ritual, releases one from restrictions following the death.

At the end of the ritual, the priest gives a frontal mark, *sinah*. He puts a little oil on the head of each male person and symbolically combs their hair. Then he gives a colourful or a black cap to all males except the sons of the deceased. The female members with exception of the wife of the deceased receive oil on their head from the priest's wife, and she symbolically combs their hair. At last, with the exception of the wife and sons of the deceased all of them receive a piece of betel nut and a betel leaf to eat. They are now considered to be free from restrictions on their joy and happiness. They can now resume combing their hair, grooming themselves in their ritual ceremonies.

The sons receive only a white cap and the wife of the deceased does not receive any thing. It symbolises the continuation of mourning.

If the person who dies is the oldest among the family, *thakāli*, these restrictions will continue for forty-five days, when another ritual called *latyā* is held. All the above mentioned objects will be then given to the family members at this ritual instead of the *ghahsū*.

Sayyādāna, (Donation of Bed: During the *ghahsū* ritual, the deceased's family give offerings called *sayyādāna* to their priest. *Sayyādāna* is comprised of all the objects which is necessary during the lifetime of a person, (a furnished room: *kothājwalān*³⁵, a piece of land with some agricultural tools: *bunjwalān*, a kitchen set: *bhutūjwalān*, some items of food and drink: *nasā-twānsājwalān*, worship utensils: *pūjājwalān*, clothes for the priest couple: *wasahjwalān*, a jewellery set: *tisājwalān*, a make-up set: *samājwalān* or *saubhāgyajwalān*). *Saubhāgyajwalān* is accompanied by a comb and a brush.

Among all these things, a piece of gold with motif of a couple symbolising Visnu and his wife is given as a ritual gift. This sketch is a wish for the deceased to have the protection of the god Visnu or to have a conjugal life in heaven. This offering shows that the Newar wish the deceased a harmonious conjugal life in other world. To fulfil the wish, a

comb is given with all the other essential objects. This means the comb accompanies a Newar man not only in his life time but also after his death.

Most of the Hindu Newars perform fire sacrifice called *saptāhā*, once the year long mourning period is over. This worship lasts for seven days. At the end of the fire sacrifice the family will give an offering of a household or a bed-room, *sayyādāna*, to the priest. They offer the divinity a miniature make-up set called *saubhāgyajwalān* as we can see in Photo 11. The Hindu Newars believe that performance helps the dead person find a place in heaven with all the necessary elements of life.



Photo 11. A make-up set, *saubhāgyajwalān*, (comb, plait decoration cord, *sacikā*, mirror, *nhāyakān*, vermilion box, *sinah batā*, front mark, *sinah* some glass bracelets, *curā*, a piece of cloth.)

Combs in Different Ceremonies and Worships

Among the Newars, worship of the living goddess, Kumāri, is very popular. Kumāri is considered as a protector of human beings and destroyer of inhuman beings, *mānava rakska* and *dānava nāsaka*. According to a legend, she killed his own lover who created a lot of trouble to human beings. According to traditional belief, she is the royal protector, mother goddess Tulajā Bhavāni, incarnated in a virgin girl of a Shakya caste³⁶. The Newars worship the mother goddess shrine, *pith*, as Kumāri. One *pitha* has eight, nine or ten mother goddesses among them one must be Kumāri.

Worship of Kumāri plays a great role in ceremonial life cycle rituals among the Newars. From child's first initiation, *macā jānko* through the old age consecration, *burā jānko* ceremony Kumāri is worshipped.



Photo 12. The living goddess Kumāri of Patan (Photo : B. Manandhar)

Not only the Newar but most of the Nepalese people believe that the goddess Kumāri protects and gives blessing. Therefore, the Nepalese people, both Hindus and Buddhists, worship the goddess Kumāri to fulfil their wishes. They worship her particularly for positive results in their work, for protection against blood diseases and bleeding problems.

When someone performs *Kumāri pūjā*, he or she must include a make-up set *saubhāgyajwalān*, in the offerings. This set is composed of a comb, a plait decoration cord, *sachikā*, a mirror attached with vermillion box, *sinah battā*, a frontal mark, *sinah*, some glass bracelets, *curā*, a piece of cloth for a blouse or a set of dress. All these objects are preferred in red colour.



Photo 13. An example of the make-up set, often offered to Kumāri.³⁷

Most of the Hindu Newars observe various fastings and worships like *satyanārāyan pūjā*, and *saptāhā*. The performers have to offer two sets of the make-up objects, *saubhagyajwalān*. One is for divinity in miniature form and the other is the real make-up set with a comb and gifted to the priest couple at the end of the ceremony.

Conclusion

I have already explained that the comb is a symbol of joy and happiness. During several rituals the comb is offered from the seniors to the juniors or to their descendants. It expresses their relationship and wishes their juniors for their happiness and happy lives. By offering a comb, they express their wish to expand their family and continue this traditional protection of their future descendants.

Therefore, I suppose that the Newars wish for a harmonious and happy family life while living in this world and in other world after death. As they believe that all human beings have a soul; only the body dies and the soul continues its existence and takes a new life after death.

The comb, a simple object, can be purchased for a little money. It is a tool of aesthetics; its function is to comb someone's hair, groom it for beauty, happiness and a harmonious appearing personality to the outside world.

In the Newar society a cheerful personality is considered an auspicious sign, *laksana*. During ritual and worship the comb acts as a tool for power and purification. Before birth it gives protection to the foetus by purifying the uterus and after death it removes pollution from those in mourning.

Mostly it brings happiness by removing isolations, depression and loneliness.

The Newars believe in rebirth and have a tradition of preparing the dead person for the other world. They wish the deceased a better life there. It is the great duty of the deceased's descendant (son) to give all the necessary objects including a comb as a gift *sayyādāna* to the family priest. It is supposed that these gift *sayyādāna* will be received by the dead person in the other world for an ideal life.

The comb plays an important role in the culture and ritual functions. It reveals the social meaning and traditional behaviour of the Newars.

Notes

1. This article is a small part of my research report on "The traditional Head-dress and Hair Style among the Newars", (in Nepali), submitted at Centre for Nepal and Asian studies/ Tribhuvan University (CNAS/TU) in 1992. (I would like to thank to C. Boch, Yubin Pujari and Anand Prashad Shresth for giving their time to read this article and for correction of grammar).
2. The Newars are one of the 25 ethnic groups of Nepal. They are 1,041,090 (*Statistical Pocket Book*, 1994 : 22) which represent 5.6% of the total population of the country. Among the Newars, there is social hierarchy, based on caste system according to the distribution of the responsibilities towards the society. Most of the Newars live in Kathmandu valley. They have their own language, art, architecture and culture giving them a unique identity among the other people of Nepal. Religiously, the Newars declare themselves as Hindus or Buddhists. In my opinion they follow the syncretism between Hinduism and Buddhism in both philosophy and culture.
3. All the Newari vernaculars are figured in if they are other they are written in italic and bracketed in abbreviation from which language are they taken. For example (nep) for Nepali word or (hin.) for Hindi.
4. There are some ritual function of the brush which will explain on the ritual part of this article.
5. Photos used in this article are mostly photographed by author herself during her field work in 1992, if the photos are borrowed or photographed by some one else than herself their names are mentioned at the legend.

6. Some well known anthropologists considered as the experts on the Newars, G. S. Nepali (1965), M. Allen (1982), G. Toffin (1984), R. Pradhan (1986) and R. Levy (1992)
7. More or less, it is like the *guphā basne* <<stay in the cave>> rite among the Brahman-Chhetris of Nepal. For more details see : Bennett, 1978 : 31-46.
8. For detail information see : Nepali, 1965 : 112-116, Allen, 1982 : 179-210, Toffin, 1984 : 140-141, Lewis, 1984 : 176-178, Pradhan, 1986 : 125-130 and Levy, 1992 : 670-673
9. *kom* is made by a mixture, powder of fried gains of barley, rice and a little portion of mustard.
10. This bowl is called *chikā kholā*
11. The feast contents, beaten rice, two types of vegetable, a type of beans and the potato curry, but the meat and alcohol are strictly prohibited.
12. In the old women's words, *bārḥā khyā napān dyan mawalā ? wān māyāyā mawalā?*
13. According to social reforms of Jayasthiti Malla (Buddhathoki (ed.), 2039 B. S.) nail cutting service is given, by the barber, Naunī to Shākya, Shrestha, Vajrācārya, Tulādhar, etc. and by the Butcher, *Nai*. to the Manandhar, Maharjan, Ranjitkar, etc.
14. *alah* is a kind of mixture of water and a kind of mineral red colour which is antiseptic.
15. For detail of the worship see, Levy (1992), Nepali (1965), Bennett (1987).
16. Very rare cases in the past when child marriage was prevalent.
17. Some rare cases in the past.
18. Thursday links with the planet Jupiter, which is the source of knowledge and wisdom as well as good luck and prosperity. According to the traditional belief every thing began on Thursday will get success easily. The influence of planet brings long lasting affection among the couple.
19. The first gift sent to the future bride from the groom's house in which a kind of sweet called *lākhāmari*, a paste made by mixing wheat flour and small black beans, *Māy*, flour into a paste, cooking it in butter and then dropping it into a sugar liquid. There will be twelve in numbers and it will be accompanied by the ten betel nuts and other gifts.

20. According to one Vaidya family of Patan, there will be 12 betel nuts and a box of vermilion, from which the girl keeps two betel nuts and accept to put the vermilion on her head.
21. Literary translation: give the betel nut.
22. Literary translation, <<to go to feed the fruits>>, this gift composed by the seasonal fruits but the following fruits are compulsorily presented; bananas, mango, sugarcanes, pea-nuts, radish, guavas, green myrobolan, fruits of the *bayar* tree.
23. *sagān*, is a ritual offering to wish someone good luck who is going to begin something new in his or her life or to congratulate someone who has success or achieved something. There are two types of *sagān*, one is called *goṣsagān* and another is called *pāṣṣagān*. The *goṣsagān*, non vegetarian, is comprises with yoghurt, clothes, a boiled egg, a fried fish, alcohol (among certain Newars, along with above said items meat, pan cake, etc., are also added). The *pāṣṣagān*, vegetarian, is comprises with the yoghurt and clothes only.
24. This is a tool used for partition of the hair. Its one side is pointed like needle and another side like as a miniature crown decorated by various motifs likely butterflies, flowers, peacock, etc.
25. The names of the five Buddha, their places and their corresponding elements are respectively as follows: Bairocana-middle-the sky/ Akṣṣvyay-above the front-the water/ Ratnasṁvaba-above the left ear-land/ Amoghaśiddhi-above the right ear-air and Amitāmbha-the back one- the fire.
26. Water, air, land, sky and fire, all together is called *pancatatwa*.
27. Recently one of my friend from Patan told me that the comb is not needed to be made of silver for this ritual. Her own family has a collection of small combs made of other less precious metal than silver. As I have only one information in this matter, I have to do more field work on it to go in depth and I am interested in studying it in detail.
28. Literal meaning of *khwāṣwawanegu*, is to go and see the face (of newly married daughter). Among the Manandhar, it will be held on the same night of the wedding. Nowadays, most of the Newars held this ritual on the convenient day of both families (bride & groom's). Even some families have abandoned this ritual.
29. Among the certain Newar castes, the Vajrācārya, Shākya, Ranjitkār, etc. practice to purification ritual on seventh day of the death.

30. For more details on purification cleaning process see ; *Manu Smṛiti*, trans. Doniger, 1991 : 111.
31. The butcher plays that role among the certain castes like Manandhar, Ranjitkār, Benjankār, etc.
32. *āti* is a kind of liquid made of wheat flour and water made by a married daughter of the dead person's family. It will be cooked in a clay pot, not inside the house but under the roof of main entrance, *pikhālakhu*, of the death person's house.
33. *khālaṣ* is a kind of water mixed in ash and then filtered.
34. In certain castes, already mentioned above, this ritual is held on the seventh day of the death.
35. A house if one can afford it.
36. For more details see M. Allen, 1975 & 1984 / S. Manandhar, 1988.
37. In the photo, a small piece of cloth is presented, which is offered to Kumāri shrine. If one is going to worship the living Goddess Kumāri, they offer a piece of cloth minimum 1.5 m. to make a blouse or a set of dress for Kumāri.

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RESEARCH NOTE

JESTHAVARNA MĀHĀVIHĀRA OF LALITPUR: HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

Ranjana Bajracharya

Introduction

Jestharana Māhāvihāra, a prominent bāhā of Newar Buddhists of Lalitpur is commonly known as Tanga Bāhā or Cāku Bāhā. Its Sanskrit name, Jesthavarna Māhāvihāra, indicates its reputation as one of the oldest and principal bāhās in Lalitpur. This bāhā was founded by Sri Balarcana Deva at Tangal Tol which is situated the east of the road leading south from Mangal Bazar. It is located just opposite to Ta-Bāhā of Karunāmaya or Bunga-dyo (Rato Matsyendranath) whose cult and *rāthājatrā* is closely associated with Caku Baha dyo. The principal deity of the Tanga Bāhā is a small and remarkable red image of Padmapani Lokesvara which is also revered as Jatadhari Lokesvara. Newar Buddhists call this deity Caku-bāhā-dyo and Hindus call him Minnāth.

The structure of the temple and Bāhā complex

The bāhā complex is surrounded by dwelling houses. The main free standing temple of this bāhā is remarkable in its structure. It is a two-storey pagoda or Nepali style temple which is facing west. The top roof of this temple is of gilded copper. People believe that it was renovated in N.S. 986.¹ Above this roof there is a single golden finial with a three-tiered umbrella. A metal banner also known as *patā* hangs from the finial down to the main door of the temple. The lower tile roof of the temple was replaced by a copper plate in N.S. 1108 (B.S. 2044) by a Newar Buddhist named Sri Asha Ratna Dhakhwa of Kwābāhā Sangha of Lalitpur.² The lower roofs of the temple are supported by the carved struts decorated with the images of five protectors deities popularly known as *Pancaraksha* such as Mahapratishara,

Mahasahasra Pramardani, Mahamayuri, Mahasitavati and Mahamantransusarini. Among them one of the struts of the lower roof of the temple at the eastern side is peculiar and note worthy. This strut bears a stupa on a lotus in the main branch of a plant, whereas on the other side-branch of the same plant a Siva-linga is figured.³ At each of the four corners of the both roofs of two-storey temple, metal-cast bird figures stand with a fish dangling from their beaks. There are also metal faces of the Bodhisttva at the end of the ribs of the metal roofs. From the eaves of all two roofs hang a series of small bells and are edged with a *kinkinimāla* perforated boarder.

The front or western façade of the temple has one double door on each side. Each of the four doorways is surmounted by an elaborately carved *torana*. The most elaboratd one over the main door is a copper repousse *torana* of Padmanritesvara, an eighteen-handed image of Avalokitesvara in the dancing posture with a lotus in each of his hands. The main figure is flanked by two four-handed and two six-handed figures which can probably be identified as Tārā, Sudhana, Bhrikuti and Hayagriva.⁴ The representation of these images is extremely rare. A small image of the Buddha Amitabha is placed below the *torana*. The frame of the doorway which was installed in N.S. 986 (1866 A.D.) is covered with brass work. On both the sides of the doorposts, Bhairavas with three faces and six hands is represented prominently. The other side of three *toranas* over the three doors of the temple is all decorated with wood carvings and is older than the *toranas* over the main door. The centre figure on the northern *torana* is a twelve-handed tantric deity with three heads, and on the eastern *torana* is a twelve-handed image of Ganesh in dancing posture. On the southern *torana*, there is a tantric deity on the centre with sixteen hands and three heads.

Around the temple on the ground floor there is a railing with oil lamps and prayer wheels. A pair of triangle-shaped brass flags are posted on both sides of the steps leading to the main door. These flags were donated in N.S. 1029. Two large metal lions which were donated in N.S. 1024 are also kept on both sides of the steps. On the back of each of the lions, there is a two-armed figures of Simbanāda Lokesvara. At the front corner of the verandā, there are two large stone images of the *Yamadutas* holding a *gadā* in the right hand and a *vajra* in the left hand. These images are dated N.S. 1044 (1924 A.D.). A large bell on the north side of the temple was donated in N.S. 999 (1879 A.D.) by a family of Silpakāras from Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu.⁵ Almost all the wooden struts, windows, *toranas*, shrine

frames and other wooden art objects of the temple are brightly painted with red, green, white and yellow colours.

The courtyard of the bāhā is fairly large and contains five motive *caityas*, one octagonal motive *caitya*, one *dharmadhātu mandala*, a large Tibetan Buddhist prayer wheel and two rest houses besides the gateway. On the southern side of the bāhā complex, there is an old type of *āgam* house where an image of Dipankara is exhibited during the Shrawan of Gunla month. On the upper side of the same *agam* goddess Basundharā who is said to be senior most of all the gods and goddesses of Illahane Samyak⁶ of Nāgbāhā, Lalitpur, is seated on a wooden *khat* (cot). One day before the Illahane Samyak, the people of Nāgbāhā visit the Tanga-Bāhā with musical troupe and bring the goddess Basundharā to Nāgbāhā Samyak⁷.

Inscriptions within the Bāhā Complex

The history and evolution of the Tanga Bāhā is told by many inscriptions found in the bāhā. Below is a list of the important inscriptions which are in the bāhā complex:

1. An inscription erected in the time of King Yaksha Malla is dated N.S. 589. This inscription commemorates the offering of a golden pinnacle, a banner and an umbrella to Sri Sri Aryavolokitesvara. This is the earliest inscription of the bāhā.⁸
2. An inscription dated N.S. 793 erected in the period of Srinivas Malla commemorates the reconstruction of new plateform and the *Caitya* by Satyarām Bhāro and his wife Gopini.
3. An inscription of N.S. 824, located north of the temple commemorates the construction of the *Caitya* by Sri Jaya Krishna Bhāro.
4. According to the inscription dated N.S. 833 kept inside the rest house of the bāhā complex, Bahādusingh Mulmi and his wife, Ratnasvarimai, constructed a main gate, an inn and a water conduit there. Besides these, they donated the land and many other things to meet the expenses for the *Mahāsnāna* ceremony of the deity. It also refers to Janmapāni and Amoghpaśa Lokesvara.
5. Inscription of N.S. 993 refers to commemoration of the repairs of the *Caitya*, by Sri Caityarājā, Sri Ratna Dhana, sons Sri

Chhatrarājā Sri Mani Ratnaraj of Hiranyavarna Māhāvihāra Sangha.

6. Inscription dated N.S. 999 on the top of the large temple bell support refers to the bāhā as Bālārcaana Samskārita Jesthavarna Māhāvihāra and the deity as Dharmarāj Jatādhārī Lokesvara. The donars are Krishnavira and his wife, Thakumai.
7. An inscription of N.S. 1022 refers to the commemoration of repairs made of bathing platform.
8. An inscription in Nepali dated B.S. 1965 at an inn commemorates the repairs of the Bāhā with brick pavement on the ground. Besides, the inscription also mentions the establishment of a guthi to meet the expenses of the work for keeping the bāhā clean.
9. Inscription on the base of the Yamaduta figure dated N.S. 1044 speaks of two stone images of Yamakinkar erected in Bālārcaana Samskārita Jesthavarna Māhāvihāra.
10. Inscription of N.S.1108 (B.S.2044) commemorates the reconstruction of the second roof of the temple with metal plate and painted struts and *toranas* with different colours. This construction work was done by Sri Asha Ratna Dhākhwā and his wife Chandra Devi Dhakhwa of Hiranyavarna Māhāvihāra's Sangha, for the Sukhāvātivāsa of Asha's father Ashakaji and mother, Shanta Kumāri Dhakhwa. This inscription is placed above the second roof of the temple.

Outside the bāhā complex there are two Lichchhavi inscriptions at the water tap. One inscription dated samvat 148 refers to the distribution of water from a canal,⁹ the second one is mostly damaged and it is very difficult to read the script except some words such as Jayadeva, a Lichchhavi King.¹⁰

Besides inscriptions, a reference is found in a Sanskrit poem composed in N.S. 772 by Kunu Sharma from Patan. In the poem he refers to the temple of Minnāth who resides in Khim tol. He describes the golden pinnacle on the top of the temple and around the temple decoration of various kinds. The only name he uses for the deity is Minnāth but he makes it clear that he is a Buddhist deity worshipped by the Buddhist community.¹¹

Daneil Wright states that in N.S. 793 one Satyarām Bhāro of Tangal Tol repaired the Caitya and the bathing platform of Minnāth.¹² This fact is corroborated by an inscription dated N.S. 793, attached to the *Caitya*. On the basis of an old Vamsāvali, Ratna Rāj Bajrācārya writes that in the reign of Siddhinarsimha Malla's son, Srinivās Malla, in the year N.S. 779, the image of jatādhāri Lokeshvara was made from *astadhātu* (eight different metals) because of the damage of image.¹³

Further, he states that in the year N.S. 836 Jestha sudi pratipada, Thursday at 9 p.m. when the *ratha* of Jatadhari Lokeshvara was kept in a place called Thatitol during the time of Sri Riddhinarshimha Malla, the *ratha* caught fire and was completely destroyed except the god's image. To complete the *jātra*, a new *ratha* was made. The twelve Bajracharyas read *Karana-Vyuh* text 7000 times over and Brahmans of Yeladesa read the *Veda*.¹⁴ On the basis of a Vamsāvali, D.R. Regmi states that the incident of the burning of the *ratha* of Minnātha took place in N.S. 837.¹⁵

Legendary Accounts of the Bāhā and its deity

There are several legends regarding the origin and antiquity of the deity. According to the Bhāsā Vamsāvali, King Amsuvarma (7th Century A.D.) saw a dream of Yamraj when he made an image of Dharmaraj Jatadhari Lokeshvara. So he started a *rathajatra* in honour of the deity. The Bhasa Vamsavali also attributes him for the establishment of the image of Batuka Bhairav near his palace.¹⁶

There is also another version of the story on its origin. In a Mahatmya of Sri Jatadhari Padmapani Lokeshvara written in Newari by Sri Ratna Raj Bajracharya of Cuka-baha of Lalitpur, it is mentioned that the daughter of King Shīvadeva of Matidesa got married with Amsuvarma.¹⁷ As a result, Amsuvarma's queen gave birth to a son named Vrisadeva Varma who was to be crowned at the age of eighteen.¹⁸ He also had a second son named Balarcana deva. King Vrisadeva was very pious. He daily fed and worshipped Sri Khadga Jogini before taking his own meals. He renovated *Dhana Caitya* built by Dharmadatta. After few days he fell suddenly ill and died. The spirit of the King was taken off by the Yama's messengers (Yama Kinkar) to the Yamaloka (under world) where he saw the unpleasant torture of the dead in the hell. There he saw *agnikunda*, *telakunda*, *Sarpakunda* etc of hell and *Sruchimukha pretas* or spirits (श्रुचि मुख प्रेत) with a big stomach and small mouth who were very thirsty. At that time, Padmapani Lokeshvara of

Sukhavatibhuvana, paid a visit to the Yamaloka to bring salvations for those who were having troubles and suffering over there.

On seeing this the Yamaraj performed a *pujā* and recited the hymns to Sri Karunamaya.¹⁹ When Yamaraj saw the King Vrisadeva, he realised the terrible mistake of his messengers in bringing such a virtuous and talented King to the hell. At once he ordered them to take the King back to the world. So the King survived again and narrated the story about his curious adventure of the world of Death. He, therefore erected an image of Dharmaraj Lokesvara and one of Yamantak Agama,²⁰ or Sri Padmapani Jatadhari Lokesvara as he saw in the Yamaloka. He installed this image in one of the nine Chowks of his darbar. Since that time the image of Sri Lokesvara came to exist. After some time he left his palace and throne to his brother Balarcanadeva²¹ and set off with his wife for Godavari. He erected a Caitya in Baregaun and returned to his palace and died.²²

According to this text, Bhairava of Matiko, in the form of a black cat, created the great troubles in the country by carrying off the infants of the people. Because of this problem, the people and the King abandoned that place. Balarcanadeva came to live at Manadeva Samskarita Cakravarna Mahavihara where he placed the image of Jatadhari Lokesvara. But the deity did not want to live in that Bāhā. The deity advised the King in his dream to construct a Bāhā specially for him on a plot of land that would be shown to him by a sparrow. Next morning the King saw a sparrow alight on the north side of the Cuka Baha. The King then constructed a Bāhā over there which is called Balarcana Samskarita Taniggal Vihārā for Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara. In the same year the king inaugurated the annual *rathajātrā* of the deity. At the end of the *jātrā* he performed a *Masuhuti Yajya* in Matiko for Sri Yamantak Bhairava and worshipped a pair of sparrow who were to be set off to inform Yamaraj that the *rathajātrā* of Jatadhari Lokesvara had been completed. At the same time two fishes were to be released into a pond to inform the king of the nagas that the *jātrā* had been completed. This custom is still observed.

As mentioned in this text that the *rathajātrā* of Jatadhari Lokesvara which was introduced by Balarcanadeva, became one of the prominent *jātrās* among other seven *jātrās* which were prevalent in the valley before the Rato Matsyendra's *jatra*. The same text states that during the reign of Baladeva of Patan, in the year Kaligata 3600 (499 A.D.) Sri Karunamaya of Kamarukamasya Desa Assam was brought and Bandhudatta Gubhaju summoned the seven other gods who had an annual *rathjātrā*, Bandhudatta

was successful in cancelling the six *rathajatras* of the gods except the *jātrā* of Jatadhari Lokesvara. He failed to summon the *jatra* of Jatadhari Lokesvara, when he did a puja of penance to cancel the *jātrā* the *caitya* of eastern side of Taniggal tol cracked from the pinnacle to the bottom. He came to know that Jatadhari Lokesvara was furious, and he decided to perform the *rathajātrā* of Sri Karunamaya and Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara together each year.

Another version is given in a book entitled *Cwak Baha Dyo Ya Bakhan*. In this book the Sanskrit and Newar versions describe Cakubāha Dyo.²³ The legend begins with the request of Sri Maitreya Bodhistva to Sarvarthsidha Shakyamuni to know about the establishment of Sri Yamaryava Lokesvara Chwak Baha Dyo of Lalitpur.

According to the legend, two close friends named Suvandhu and Sumitra went to Tibet for business. On the way Suvandhu killed his friend, Sumitra and took all his money. Later he realised his great mistake and decided to spend all the money on observing the fasting of Astami Vrata of Sri Yamaryavolokitesvara according to the advice of one Avatari Lamajus. He spent all his life in observing the fasting of Astami-Vrata at one of the Gumbas of Tibet. When he died he took a rebirth of a king named Udurmukhi in Tibet. But he suffered from leprosy because of his evil act of killing his friend in his previous life. By acquiring knowledge about his disease, he came to Nepal for the treatment. He was cured when he took a bath daily at Sankhamula Tirth and observed the fasting on Astami.

After being cured of his disease King Udarmukha built a city named Lalitpur. Yamaduta of Yamalok started to punish the king when he came to Yamalok after his death. He was released when Sri Karunamaya told Yamaduta about his many religious acts and the Astami-Vrata which King Udurmukha had observed in his previous life. According to the advice of Sri Yamaryavolokitesvara, Udurmukha carried the god to Lalitpur and built a *bāhā* for the god quickly because he wanted to complete the construction of the *bāhā* within four days. So this *bāhā* is called Cwak Baha.²⁴

There are no authentic sources and inscriptions which verify the above statements. The local people believe it for the origin of the baha and its deity. According to John K. Locke, the cult of Avalokitesvara of the other shrine is an imitation of the cult of Bunga-dyo except Minnath of Patan and tradition says that Lokesvara predates the cult of Bunga-dyo.²⁵ Although the exact time of its origin is still to be investigated it is deep rooted in the

mind of the people that the cult, and *rathjātrā* of Jatadhari Lokesvara predates earlier than that of Bungadya according to the local tradition. Even the Vamsavali of Bungadya speaks of seven *jātrās* current in the valley at that time,²⁶ when the *rathajātrā* of Bungadyo was inaugurated.²⁷ Besides there are few references in the book entitled *Sri Swayambhu Mahacaitya* that Minnath was established during the time of Amsuvarma, and before the advent of Mastsyendranatha.²⁸ Further Sri Hemaraj Shakya, a learned pandit, opines that the festival of Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara is considered as the oldest festival of Nepal.

“श्री जटाधारी लोकेश्वर.... मीननाथ नेपालया सर्व प्राचीनगु जात्रा मानेयाना तल”²⁹

This is also proved by the fact that when King Siddhinarsmha Malla of Patan gathered the representatives of the fifteen bahas to reorganise the rules and regulations of Buddhist bahas. He accorded the place of honours to those from Tanga Baha, despite the fact that they did not arrive first for the meeting, because of the antiquity of their *bāhā*.³⁰ This would indicate that Tanga Baha even at that time had a reputation as one of the oldest *bāhās* of Patan.³¹

E. Daily rituals of the Baha

Morning rituals

The Panju or *deopālā* of the Caku Baha dya performs the morning and evening puja called the *nitya puja* in Newari. The *deopālā* performs the morning and evening rituals as follows:

1. Bathing the deity
2. *Panchopacara puja* (*Puspa, Dhupa, Dipa, Gandha, Rasa*)
3. Showing a mirror to the deity.
4. Reciting the stotras such *Om Nama Loknath, Deva Manusya Saranama, Dasa Balastava Stotra* in honour of the deity.

Evening rituals

1. Panchopacara puja
2. Lighting of the lamp
3. Reciting the stotras which are recited in the morning.

For performing these daily rituals the Guthi Sansthana of Patan allocates Rs. 30 and one pathi of rice for a month.

The term of service of the *Baha* is one month for the *deopālā* who observes usual rites of purification, restrictions and he must cook his own rice as usual. At present the *Sangha* of the Baha consists of thirty initiated

members, all of whom are Shakyas. The *Sangha* is governed by the ten elders.

List of the funds and other materials to perform annual rituals

The annual rituals of the Baha are performed by the members of the Bāhā's Sangha .

The Guthi Sansthan of Patan bears the expenses of the annual rituals of the Baha. The ingredients of the annul rituals borne by the Guthi Sansthan are as follows:

1. *Pancadana Parva* (Eight day of Sharawan Krishna Pakshya)
 - a. Unhusked rice 5 Pathi
2. *Gatila Parva, Basundhara Puja* (Aswin Krishan Paksa tritiya and cauthi)
 - a. Cash Fund 52 Paisa
 - b. Unhusked rice 3 Pathi, 1 Mana
 - c. Saruwa rice 2 Pathi
 - d. Polished rice 2 Pathi 4 Mana
3. *Chauchhawo Parva* (Tirteen day of Aswin Sudi)*
 - a. Cash fund Rs. 1. 79 Paisa
 - b. Polished rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
 - c. Saruwa rice 4 Mana
4. *Sinu Puja Parva* (Fourteen day of Magh Sudi)
 - a. Cash fund 48 Paisa
 - b. Beaten rice 1 Pathi, 4 Mana
 - c. Polished rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
 - d. Ducks' egg 2
 - e. Red Cloth (Tula) half metre
5. *Sri Punchami Parva* (fifth day of Magh Sudi)
 - a. Cash fund Rs. 1. 8 Paisa
 - b. Saruwa rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
 - c. Beaten rice 2 Pathi

* Metric Conversion: One Muri = 20 Pathis
One Pathi = 8 Manas

A mixture of unhusked rice and polished husked rice is called 'Saruwa'.

6. Yachi Parva (Falgun)

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| a. Cash fund | Rs. 1. 36 Paisa |
| b. Beaten rice | 1 Pathi, 4 Mana |
| c. Polished rice | 1 Pathi 4 Mana |
- One rupee = 100 Paisa

7. Sana Jatra (1st day of Baisakha Badi)

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| a. Cash fund | Rs. 1. 67 Paisa |
| b. Saruwa rice | 1 Paithi |
| c. Beaten rice | 2 Pathi |
| d. Polished rice | 2 Pathi, 4 Mana |

8. Dasakarma Ebhu Parva (Thirteen day of Baisakha Badi)

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Cash fund | Rs. 4. 98 Paisa |
| b. Polished rice | Muri, 5 Pathi, 5 Mana |
| c. Duck's egg | 2 |
| d. Log wood | 11 Dharni |

9. Kalevar Parva

- | | |
|-----------|--------|
| a. Saruwa | 1 Muri |
|-----------|--------|

10. Mahavali Puja

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| a. Cash fund | Rs. 2 . 55 Paisa |
| b. Polished rice | 1 Pathi, 4 Mana |
| c. Beaten rice | 1 Pathi |
| d. Duck's egg | 3 |

11. Ratha Panistha (fourth day of Baisakha Sudhi)

- | | |
|----------------|----------|
| a. Cash fund | 29 Paisa |
| b. Saruwa rice | 4 Mana |

12. Dewali Parva (Baisakha, Thursday)

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| a. Cash fund | 61 Paisa |
| b. Saruwa rice | 4 Mana |
| c. Beaten rice | 1 Pathi 4 mana |

13. Swochha parva (Fourth day of Baisakha Sudi)

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| a. Saruwa rice | 4 Mana |
| b. Beaten rice | 1 Pathi |
| c. Polished rice | 1 Pathi, 4 Mana |

14. Nakibhu Parva

a. Cash fund	Rs. 1. 46 Paisa
b. Saruwa rice	3 Mana
c. Polished rice	1 Pathi 4 Mana
d. Beaten rice	1 Pathi 4 Mana
e. Black Soybean	1 Mana

15. Mahakala Puja

a. Cash fund	29 Paisa
b. Polished rice	2 Pathi 4 Mana
c. Beaten rice	2 Mana

16. Puwekya Parva (Four days after the deity taken down from ratha)

a. Cash fund	42 Paisa
b. Polished rice	11 Pathi
c. Beaten rice	1 Pathi, 4 Mana
d. Black lintels	2 Mana

The above funds and quantities of the materials are given to the *deopālā* by the Guthi Sansthan of Patan to perform the different annual rituals of the Baha.³²

F. Rathajatra of Caku Baha-dya and its relation with Matsyendranath or Bunga-dya.

The annual *Mahasnana* (bathing ceremony), *dasakarma* (ten *samasakaras*) and *rathjatra* of Caku Baha dya are performed simultaneously with those of Bunga-dya. The *mahasnana* is celebrated on the first day of the dark-half of the month of Baisakha, when *dasakarma* takes place on the thirteenth day of the fortnight of Baisakha. On the fourth day of the bright-half of the month of Baisakha, Cakubaha dya or Minnath is installed on his ratha which is pulled from Tanga Baha to Pulchowk near the Asoka-Stupa. On the appointed day both the *rathas* of Bunga-dya and Caku-baha dya are pulled together by the local people. Bunga-dya follows Caku-baha dya up to Gabaha, a place where the rathas are halted. According to informants this fact also proves the prior place of Minnath and also shows Bunga-dya as a stranger or a guest of Minnath who guides him around the town.

From Ga-baha onwards the ratha of Bunga-dya goes first, but at every half or *Yanyakebale* at the appointed place, the ratha of Caku-baha-dya

comes to the front which shows the prior right of Cakubaha dya.³³ During the whole festival, the two rathas remain together. The rathas of the deities brought at Jawalakhel on the appointed day when the *Bhoto* is displayed. After *boto-jatra* Bunga-dya performs a *puja* to Caku-baha dya to take permission to leave Patan. Before he departs from Patan Cakubaha dya offers a farewell puja to Bungadya. At end, the rathas of Cakubaha dya first returns back to his Baha. Then only Bungadya leaves the *ratha* for his main abode Bungamati. All these processes indicate the senior and leading position of Cakubaha dya.

This leads to a point when the relation between the two deities needs to be determined. In regards to the relation of Minnath with Matsyendranath there are different views. Iconographically the two images are identical. Both of them are Padmapani Lokeshvara. Although the colour of faces of both the deities are red but the appearance or execution of the Bunga dyas' face is little bit similar to the image of Jagnath of Puri of East India.³⁴ Minnath could be considered Matsyendranaths' one form of manifestation and is always by his side.³⁵ Some refer to *Sano* Minnath as his younger brother.³⁶

It is stated that the cult of Avolokitesvara was prevalent and widespread in Lichchhavi period. The Avolokitesvara image erected by Mani Gupta and his wife Mahendramati, the Avolokitesvara image at Brahma tol (557 A.D.) and Avolokitesvara image at Bandahithi at Kathmandu are the evidence of the wide prevalence of Avolokitesvara cult which is quite known to Nepal from the middle of the 6th century A.D.

All these assertions show that Cakubaha-dyo or Jatadhari Lokeshvara or Minnath is very popular Buddhist deity from ancient period and the shrine and his cult were certainly established before the advent of Bungo-dyo, the Buddhist rain god of Nepal.

Notes

1. John K. Loke; *Karunamaya* (Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980) p. 375.
2. Coincidentally Sri Asha Ratna Dhakhwa is the authors' father who inscribed an inscription dated N.S. 1108 (B.S. 2044) on the auspicious occasion of renovation of the temple.
3. For this information, I am indebted to Sri Hemaraj Sakya.
4. Benoytosh Bhattacharyaya; *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (new Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993) p. 42.
5. Locke; op.cit (n. 1) p. 375

6. *Illahane Samyak* is a Buddhist Ceremony which is observed once in five years only on the day of Tiritiya in the month of Falgun. On this occasion all the invited Dipankaras and other Gods and Goddess are worshipped with Dip-D,n (offering of light) and Samyak D,n (offering of Samyak Bhojan or dinner).
7. Karunakar Vaidya; *Buddhist Traditions and Culture of the Kathmandu Valley*, (Kathmandu: Shajha Prakashan, 1986) P. 112.
8. John Locke; op.cit. (F.N. 1.) P. 381, But, according to Hemaraj Sakya, it is the inscription which is misplaced here from Tava-B,h, (personal Communication)
9. Dhanavajra Bajracharya; *Lichchhavi Kalka Abhilekha*, (Kathmandu: CNAS, T.U. B.S. 2030) pp. 543-46.
10. Ibid, p. 580.
11. John Locke; Op. Cit. (F.n. 1) p 382.
12. Daneil Wright; *History of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Nepal Antiquated Book Publishers, 1972) P. 245.
13. Ratna Raj Bajracharya; *Sri Jatadhari Padmapani Lokesvara Ya Mahatmya*, (Kathmandu: Miss Rukmini Shrestha, Naya Baneshvara, Samvat 1111, Jestha) P. 26.
14. Ibid.
15. D.R. Regmi; *Medieval Nepal*, 4 Vols. (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966). P. 657.
16. Nayanatha Paudyal (ed.); *Bhasa Vamsavali* Part I, (Kathmandu: Archaeology Dept, Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya 2020 B.S.) pp. 84-85.
17. Ratna Raj Bajracharya; Op.cit (F.N. 13) P. 8.
18. Amsuvarma ruled as a King in the early 7th Century in the late Lichchhavi period although he was not a Lichchhavi. Vrisadeva was a Lichchhavi King who preceded Amsuvarma by about 150 yr.
19. Amogha Vajra Bajracharya; *Lokesvara ya Parichaya* (nepal: Lokeshvara Sangha, N.S. 1099) p. 86.
20. Daniel Wright; op.cit (F.n. 10) p. 117.
21. Although Cakubaha was Constructed by Balacanadeva who was described as a King in the Mahatmya and Deniel Wright Vamsavali but no other evidence has been found to support his reign.
22. Ratna Raj Bajracharya; op.cit (F.n. 13) p. 14.
23. Padit Sri Kamalananda Bajracharya *Cwak Baha Dya Ya Vakhan* (Kathmandu: Data Prakashan, N.S. 1105).
24. Pandit Sri Kamalananda Bajracharya; op.cit (F.N. 23) p. 18.

25. John K. Locke; Op.cit. (F.n. 1) P. 447.
26. Punya Ratna Bajracharya; Rato Mastsyendranatha Ek Parichaya, *Swatantra Viswa* Vol 9. No. 9. USIS Publication, Kathmandu, Nepal, p. 43.
27. Ratna Raj Bajracharya; *Bunga-dya ya Ratha Yatra Khan*, (Lagankhel: Ratna Raj Bajracharya 2036) p. 23.
28. Sri Hemaraj Shakya; *Sri Swayambhu Mahachaitya* (Kathmandu: Swayambhu Vikas Mandala, N.S. 1098) P. 105.
29. Sri Hemaraj Shakya, *sri Swayambhu Mahachaitya* (Lagankhel M Ratna Raj Bajracharya. 2036) p.23
30. Daneil Wright, op. cit (F.n.10) p. 235
31. Locke, Opt.Cit. (F.n. 1) p. 381.
32. For this information, I am indebted to Sri Sambhu Prasad Shrestha of the Guthi Sansthan of Patan.
33. Ratna Raj Bajracharya, op.cit (F.n.).
34. Punya Ratna Bajracharya; Op.Cit (F.n.. 24) p. 43.
35. D.R. Regmi; *Medieval Nepal* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyya 1965)[p. 573-574.
36. Rangeya Raghava; *Gorkhnath Aur Unka Yug* (Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons 1963) p. 19.

RESEARCH NOTE

PROTEST POETRY: THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE

Ananda P. Srestha

*"They say:
If you see a slave sleeping,
Do not wake him lest he be dreaming of freedom*

*But I say:
If you see a slave sleeping,
Wake him! And explain to him freedom."*

Kahlil Gibran

Protest poets throughout the world have always been the nation's voice of conscience. They have through history swayed governments, toppled dictators and changed political systems. They have always mirrored society in its various forms, and moreover, oppression in all its aspects. They have vehemently criticized and held up to ridicule the vices and corrupt practices of brokers of power and have in all earnestness, like true crusaders, taken up the responsibilities of restoring political stability, social harmony and above all the sanity of a nation.

Whether it be poets like Lorca, Iqbal, Kahlil Gibran, Stephan Biko, Derek Walcott, Farouk Asvat, Amrita Pritam, Jayanta Mahapatra or Black consciousness propagators of America and South Africa, there is as it were, a certain unity among them. Back home, our very own poets like Lekh Nath Poudyal, Gopal Prasad Rimal, Laxmi Prasad Devkota, Kedar Man Vyathit, Siddhi Charan Shrestha, Bhupi Sherchan, Kali Prasad Rijal, Chhetra Pratap Adhikari, Gopal Yonzon, to name a few, also belong to this conscious breed. A tacit understanding, or a common thread of sorts seems to bind this brave

band together the world over, to time and again raise their voices for the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden.

These protest poets have at times been punished, their poems banned and at times even imprisoned under deplorable conditions for long periods of time. But they, nevertheless, continue their relentless battle against the forces of evil and oppression even from the darkness of the dungeons or from other places of imprisonment. But unlike most political prisoners who later get to positions of power either through compromises or change in a political system, a majority of such poets on release, preferably remain to be the dissenting voice – the nation's voice of conscience. To them it is insignificant as to who is in or out of power or which political system has been ushered in. All they know is that they will forever wield their pens and continue to "fight the good fight" against discrimination, oppression and exploitation of any kind.

As a conscious breed, politically and socially, the Nepali protest poets like their counterparts the world over, have from the very beginning also resisted and consistently raised their voices – no matter how covertly. They have been active from the very days of the autocratic Rana regime when the Nepali people were denied their rights to make culture and history as a free people. Ironically, that very struggle continues even to this day under a multiparty dispensation and as the fight continues against oppression and to defend one's freedom, we enter history, and as human beings we redefine and create culture.

The culture of oppression, exploitation and corruption continues unabated in Nepal even to this day as in the past, but under the thick, safe, unquestionable garb of democracy. This has, in the Nepali case, made the fight even more difficult, as the strong, universally supported democratic shield must be penetrated to expose the oppressors. The political situation in Nepal in the last decade has deteriorated to such an extent that it has had adverse effects on the country's economy, education, health and administrative sectors. But along with time, new methods of fighting oppression have also evolved in that the culture of the oppressed has also developed in various forms of protest writing in painting, poetry, songs etc. The voice and expressions articulated in those art forms reflect the atmosphere of the times, a voice forever searching and refusing to accept living in a vacuum. A voice plagued by a mighty force of repression, yet a voice reminiscent of fights and struggles for freedom in not so distant past.

From the early 1960s right down to 1990 was a period in Nepal when the Panchayat system had entrenched itself and through the sad plight and state of its citizens, reached its highest form of expression. The result was poverty, corruption and unemployment – the intensification of raids and random arrests being the hallmark of the time. Leaders of the people were arrested or exiled, and banned political parties and organizations operated only from the underground. Any opposition to the partyless, autocratic regime was crushed ruthlessly, and nobody dared talk about it except in whispers. The protest poets, however, continued writing and lashing out at the regime, and were to a great extent responsible for educating and mobilizing the mass for the final overthrow.

Bhupi Sherchan's *Ghumne Mech Maathi Andho Maanchhe* (Blind Man on a Revolving Chair) mostly a collection of protest poems is, in its entirety, an elegant howl against the Panchayat system of the time. The collection was and still is so popular among the masses that the record of sales reached an all time high. Bhupi Sherchan, the poet, was able to capture, with tremendous success, the state of mind, emotion and being of a crushed people. It was the kind of poetry which effectively inspired despair among the readers and moreover, the masses, written as they were against the backdrop of moans made by the victims of oppression. In some poems cynicism is eloquently articulated, in some, anger abounds and in some utter frustration. But yet, Bhupi the poet clings to the hope that poetic language would grow and eventually link the poet with the people so that a collective effort would ultimately defeat the forces of corruption and oppression.

The theme of the poems in Sherchan's collection was, and still is, an inspiration to other protest poets in Nepal then and now. Like Sherchan, they identified themselves with the struggle for liberation and had to fight against the fallacy which the oppressor creates in order to justify his position of dominance and ignore the conditions of the oppressed. But at the same time, they also had to inspire the oppressed not to accept their condition, but to rise and fight for freedom.

It was under such conditions of oppression and suppression of human rights that poets like Lekhnath Poudyal, Gopal Prasad Rimal, Kedar Man Vyathit, Siddhi Charan Shrestha etc. articulated their voices against the despotic Rana regime. And it was this very same theme that poets of the later generation like Bhupi Sherchan, Kali Prasad Rijal, Mohan Koirala, Krishna Bhakta Shrestha, to name a few, faithfully articulated against the Panchayat regime. The protest writing of the latter period, in comparison, relied heavily

on anger and bitterness, and at times cynicism and frustration to get the message across to the masses. These poets equated such writing only with poetry, and the voice of that poetry collectively became the voice of resistance.

Today, even with the restoration of democracy in the country after 1990, protest poetry has surprisingly continued to be on the rise. In more than a decade of multiparty rule, so much in the form of protest poetry has been written and published that the total number, so far, could possibly be far greater than that covertly written in all the thirty years of Panchayat rule. Surprisingly, the theme is frustration, cynicism and anger all over again, but ironically, a voice raised more against corruption and the abuse of human rights under a democracy than against autocratic or absolute rule as voiced and articulated in the past. The collective voice of protest poets after 1990 have equally focussed on the betrayal of the people and the movement for democracy and human rights by the new leadership and the utter humiliation experienced by Nepal and the Nepalis at the loss of national identity, pride and self respect.

In other words, the protest poems published today collectively echo the despair and frustration that has seeped into the body politic through multiparty rule. The post 1990 protest poetry is a voice which searches the past, returns to the present and voices the heroic deeds of the oppressed in their bid for freedom. It also deftly identifies and juxtaposes the dead heroes and patriots of the land and brings them dramatically face to face with the "harbingers" and "champions" of democracy and human rights. Such poetry urges the oppressed in a multi party dispensation to rise and fight for true democracy and freedom in the spirit of past heroes. The marching footsteps of the workers, students and the masses that echo in these poems are recited at meetings and rallies, demonstrations and cultural functions. The urgency of the post 1990 protest poems is to keep the people informed about the betrayals by the new leadership in the name of democracy and to constantly remind them that the struggle against oppression and suppression of human rights is far from over.

The whispers against despotic regimes of the past, now in comparison, seem more like deafening screams going by how the whisperers were ferreted out and punished. But today, literally, even deafening screams against the multiparty excesses, political instability and incompetent leadership that rent the air, bounces off unaffected from the thick, hide-like skins that multiparty leaders have acquired over the years. Ironically, the people today have all the

right to shout, scream and criticize, which they do. But the duty of the democratic leadership to heed such complaints and do the needful has remained sadly absent. In all these years, this democratic exercise has only proved to be a classic dialogue of the deaf. The right of the people to be heard by the powers either falls on deaf ears or is conveniently ignored.

The screaming protest poems that appear almost every other day in some weekly newspaper or the other have indeed rendered the poets hoarse. They have in these years been ignored by the government(s) of all hues, colours and combinations with such style and finesse that one is for a while tempted to believe that such protest poems really are "the ranting of pseudo or ultra nationalists." It might, however, be convenient at the moment for the politicians and the new leadership to dismiss these voices as "cry babies of nationalism." But it will also be wise for them to remember that these were the very same voices belonging to the very same breed of poets who were labeled "cry babies of democracy" when they in the past challenged and viciously lashed out at the excesses of autocratic and dictatorial regimes.

The truth, however, may be ignored for some time but not for long. The protest poems of today are aimed squarely at the non-performance of governments, corruption, unemployment and the rise in the poverty situation. Besides, the betrayal and utter humiliation of the country and the people after 1990, the gradual erosion of democratic norms and values etc. have now become so dangerously synonymous with the present multiparty system the country is experiencing, that it has indeed given democracy a bad name. Moreover, the damage incurred has been such that reviving the faith the people once had in democracy – a political dispensation that they fought – bled and died for a decade ago as the only panacea for the country's ills will by no means be easy.

For example, utter humiliation of the country and its people at the hands of the new leadership could not have been better expressed by Chhetra Pratap Adhikari in his poem *Saarathi* (Charioteer) published in the *Samakalin Weekly* of Bhadra 19, 2054. Here the poet in a fit of emotion takes a swipe at the new leadership by artfully employing characters and situations from the classical Hindu religious texts and using them as effective symbols to make his point.

*Insulted by the Dakchhaprajapatis
Sati Devi has the country become.
Having ruined every part of the country,*

*On roads, confused and grief stricken,
The helpless, Mahadev have we become.
How others like us were ruined,
I know not,
But in our case, our very leaders,
Defilers that they are ruined us.
Shameless as they are ruined us.*

Tired and disillusioned with the present leadership and the crisis of governance the country is going through at the moment, he goes on to say:

*What's happened has happened,
Now there is one last hope.
With backwardness bundled round the waist,
And the entire country heaped on the head,
I'm in search of an able charioteer
To steer us through the new century.
In this generation he must already be born.*

At the sad erosion of the Nepali identity and Nepali nationalism in today's multi party context Gopal Yonzon, poet and lyricist, in his *Nishani* 53 in sheer despair asks:

*Say, Nepali brother where does my country lie?
I also want to sing a Nepali song.*

*Where lie the banks my heroes cleansed their swords?
Where lies Nalapani that reeks of Nepali blood?
I also want to drink of its very waters,
Say, Nepali brother where does my country lie?*

In the same vein Yonzon goes on to ask:

*Nepalis have you love for Nepal or not?
Few drops of the ancestral blood
Have you or not?
To shoulder the mighty Himal
Have you strength or not?*

Many poems have been written about the rampant corruption symbolized in the Nepali context by the Pajero vehicle. In Nepal corruption is popularly known as the "Pajero" culture after the advent of multiparty rule. The following lines by Kali Prasad Rijal, in his poem, *When the Pajero Passes by* and published in the *Samakalin Weekly* of Asad 12, 2054 stands out for its sensitivity and finesse in the treatment of the theme:

*When a new air-conditioned Pajero
Temptingly passes me by,
I see the pleasure palace
Of my recurring dreams,
Glide the road in all its grandeur.
Just for once, I feel like touching it,
The sleek, sparkling Pajero,
For once, just to pet and fondle it,
To bow before it in deep respect.*

He further goes on to say:

*And in the valuable
Smoke-mixed dust it raises,
Helpless, in spite of not wanting to,
I search for my country,
My village, my home.
Helpless, in spite of not wanting to,
I search for the future
Of tiny little children of this country.
For a pure, harmless, flawless future
I start to search.*

(The above poems translated from the Nepali by the author)

In the poem *Nation Builders* by "Tuki" and published in *Nava Kavita* of 2051, No. 29 the yawning gap between the rich and the working class is dramatically brought out into the open. To bring home the point, poor labourers of a sawmill with starvation wages and no guarantee in life are juxtaposed with politicians leading a soft life and forever in search of fast

money. The picture that emerges is a disturbing one, but true, nevertheless, in today's multiparty context.

*For a measly sum,
They slog and heave,
Their lives at stake,
Sawing the hours away.*

*Some minus fingers work as before,
Never knowing,
When broken knees, or crushed toes,
Add to their woes.*

*While nation builders,
Drowned in sofas and commissions,
Coffee and whisky the hours away.
Nursing five-star backaches
From too many meetings,
And continuous pursuit
Of emerald green lawns
And turquoise swimming pools.*

In the same volume under the title of *Hawks and Doves* "Tuki" graphically depicts the culture of exploitation of the people by the powers that be even in a multiparty dispensation. The betrayal of the people by the leadership is aptly illustrated by the use of powerful symbols.

*Perched atop temples,
Fatter than Christmas turkeys,
Hawks nestle in contented silence.
Too full to move.*

*While in the red-white courtyard below,
Strewn with feathers soft,
Red-breasted Doves huddle
In scared silence.
Waiting...Waiting...Waiting.
Waiting for the Hawks to go hungry again.*

A sudden swoop!
A famished cool!
Silence!
A contended silence!
A terrifying silence!

The poems discussed above are only a very few of a sea of such poems that are written almost daily by a new crop of emerging poets who equate protest writing only with poetry. No matter what they are labeled by the powers that be, they do in reality represent the collective voice of the general mass. The common people that have been taken for granted and who by default are led to believe that the dictatorial regimes of the past were far better than the "democracy" which the country is supposed to be blissfully experiencing at the moment.

Protest poetry in Nepali literature has indeed come a long way from *Baalak Baburo* right down to the poems discussed above. As fighters for freedom and human rights at different stages in the nation's history pass away, old protest poems give way to new and other forms of expression. Similarly, numerous poets, like the mythical phoenix, rise from the ashes of the past and merge a poetic language with the language of liberation. In the Nepalese context like in many other countries, history is uncannily repeating itself. The protest poets say "...it happens when the time does not favour the oppressor."

ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको निधन र भीमसेन थापाको अवसान

गंगा कर्माचार्य (हाडा)

स्वामीमहाराज रणबहादुर शाहको सन् १८०६ मा शेरबहादुर शाहीबाट हत्या भएपछि एकै साथ सत्तामा आएका नायव महारानी ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरी र मुक्तियार भीमसेन थापाको कार्यकाललाई आधुनिक नेपालको इतिहासमा अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण दशकका रूपमा लिइन्छ। उक्त समयको प्रशासनिक, सैनिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक अवस्था र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्ध आदिमा देखा परेका विशेषताहरूमा दुबैको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको छ। महारानीको नायवी कालमा प्रशस्त शक्ति अर्जन गर्नमा सफल भीमसेन थापाले उक्त शक्तिलाई मुलुकको प्रतिष्ठामा लगाउन पनि सफल भए। उनै महारानीको सन् १८३२ मा भएको अप्रत्यासित निधनले भीमसेन थापाको शक्तिमा मात्र नभई नेपालको राजनीतिमा नै गम्भीर असर पुऱ्यायो। महारानीको मृत्युपछि सन् १८३७-१९३९ मा भएको भीमसेन थापाको पतन र दुःखद अवसानको घटना अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा पनि चर्चाको विषय बन्यो। यस घटना बारे अझ स्पष्ट र पूर्ण जानकारी दिन थप ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरू (सन् १८३२-३९ सम्म नेपाल स्थित ब्रिटिश राजदूतहरूले आफ्ना सरकारलाई पठाएका सूचनाहरू) समावेश गरी यो लेख तयार पारिएको हो। आवश्यकता अनुसार त्यसका केही अंशहरू मूलबाट उतारेर समावेश गरी यस लेखलाई अझ सशक्त बनाउन खोजिएको छ।

ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरी र भीमसेन थापा

सन् १८०४ को एक ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण अनुसार बनारसबाट नेपाल फर्केपछि रणबहादुर शाहले ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीसँग विवाह गरेका थिए। नायवीको समस्या सुल्झाउन भीमसेन थापाले यी जमादारकी छोरीसँग रणबहादुर शाहको विवाह गराएर आफ्नो राजनैतिक स्थिति मजबूत बनाएको देखिन्छ। सन् १८२५ को धरहरा अभिलेखमा उनी रणबहादुर शाहकी पटराज्ञी (राजा सँगसँगै राज्याभिषेक नगरिएकी) को रूपमा चित्रित छन्।^१ उमेरको हिसावले पनि आफ्नो संरक्षक जस्ता मुक्तियार भीमसेन थापाका विरुद्ध शासनमा हस्तक्षेप गर्नु पर्ने उनको कुनै स्वार्थ थिएन। शासन कार्यमा मुक्तियारलाई स्वतन्त्र छोडी दिएकाले महारानीका धार्मिक कार्यहरूमा पनि मुक्तियारले निक्कै सहयोग गरेका थिए। स्वदेश तथा विदेश (बनारस) मा महारानीको आदेश अनुरूप निर्मित धार्मिक निर्माण कार्यहरू मध्ये काठमाडौंको त्रिपुरेश्वरस्थित त्रिपुरेश्वरमहादेव मन्दिर नै सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण देखिन्छ।^२

रणबहादुर शाहका पाऊको रखवारी गर्ने सेवाबाट उठेका भीमसेन थापा सुवेदार, सरदार हुँदै सन् १८०४ मा काजी बनेका थिए । उनी काजी अमरसिंह थापाका जेठा छोरा थिए । अर्का बुढाकाजी अमर सिंह थापा पनि भीमसेन थापालाई पुत्रसरह व्यवहार गर्ने गर्दथे । उनीसँग नेपाल थाम्न सक्ने शक्ति भएको उनले देखेका थिए । उनै बुढा काजीबाट भीमसेन थापाले प्रशासन र युद्धकला सम्बन्धी शिक्षा पनि प्राप्त गरेको हुनुपर्छ ।^३ महारानी ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको साथ र समर्थन पाएर नै होला स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी शक्तिलाई समेत नियन्त्रणमा राख्न सक्ने भीमसेन थापा आफ्नो समयमा नेपालका भाग्यविधाता बनेका थिए ।

ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको निधन

राजा गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाह र राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको स्याहार सम्भारमा समय बिताउने, ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीलाई पनि ती राजाहरूबाट अत्यन्त मान सम्मान प्राप्त भएको देखिन्छ । प्रशासनिक कार्यमा भन्दा धार्मिक कार्यमा बढी समय दिने यी महारानीको ६ अप्रिल, १८३२ (वि.सं. १८८८, चैत १६) मा भएको असामयिक निधनले राष्ट्रलाई नै शोकाकुल बनायो । यिनको आशोच बार्न जिल्ला जिल्लामा पठाइएको सरकारी पत्रमा “श्रीदैवको ईच्छा कसैले टारिसक्नु रहेनछ – चैतका दिन १६ जाँदा सोमवारका दिन व्यहान श्री आर्यातीर्थमा जलयोग पाइ सचेत सँग उसवषतमा हुन्या दान पुन्य सबै भैकन मुक्त हुनु भयो” भन्ने कुरा परेको छ ।^४ महारानीको मृत्यु पछि उनको शान्तिस्वस्ति कार्यमा राजा राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाह मार्फत भीमसेन थापाले धेरै खेत दान दिलाएका थिए भन्ने कुराको प्रमाण गुठी संस्थान भद्रकालीमा सुरक्षित लालपूजाहरूबाट प्राप्त हुन्छ ।

ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको मृत्युको घटनालाई ठूलो घटनाको संज्ञा दिएर तत्कालीन आवासीय ब्रिटिश राजदूत Maddock ले आफ्नो सरकारलाई ६ अप्रिल १८३२ मा लेखेको पत्रमा यसरी व्यक्त गरे – “... The death of this Princess is likely, it is supposed, to have a detrimental effect on the influence of the Minister, who has been indebted for the length and stability of his administration to her countenance and support, and it has occurred at a time when the Rajah is of an age to think and act for himself... that a door is now opened for the successful prosecution of intrigues against that preponderance which he has so long and so ably exercised in the council of this state...” (यसबाट भीमसेन थापाको राजनैतिक स्थितिमा प्रभाव पर्नजानुका अतिरिक्त नेपालको स्थिर प्रशासन र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धमा समेत आँच पुग्न जानेछ । यो घटना राजाको उमेर पुगिसकेपछि भयो ... यसबाट षडयन्त्र गर्नेहरूका लागि ढोका खुल्ला भयो ।)^५ “महारानीको मृत्युबाट भीमसेन थापाको शक्तिमा कटौती भएर नेपालको इतिहासमा यसबाट ठूलो असर पर्नेछ” भन्ने विचार ओल्डफिल्डले व्यक्त गरे । उक्त घटना पछि नै भीमसेन थापालाई पाँडे समूहको र ब्राह्मणहरूको पनि विरोधको सामना गर्नु परेको थियो ।^६ अर्को टिप्पणी अनुसार यस घटनाबाट राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहका महारानीहरूको प्रशासनमा प्रभुत्व बढेर आफ्ना छोराहरूका

तर्फबाट नायवी बनेर शासन गर्ने उनीहरूको रहरले गर्दा राजालाई समेत राजत्याग गराउने दबाव हुनेछ।^{१०}

भीमसेन थापा र विरोधी तत्व

नभन्दै भीमसेन थापाको शक्तिको श्रोत बनेका ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको मृत्यु पछि भीमसेन थापाका विरोधीहरूले शिर उठाउने मौका पाए। जस्को सामना गर्न उनलाई धेरै समय र शक्ति लगाउनु परेको थियो।

(क) रणवीरसिंह थापा: ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको मृत्यु पछि भीमसेन थापाका मुख्य प्रतिद्वन्दीको रूपमा सवैभन्दा पहिले उनकै कान्छा भाइ रणवीर सिंह थापा देखा परे। यस सम्बन्धमा Maddock को लेखाई यस्तो रहेको छ- "... Her death has relieved Runbeer Singh of the restraint which her authority imposed upon him, and as he is constantly about the person of the Rajah he naturally looks forward to an increase of his own influence at the expend of his brother's..." भीमसेन थापाले राजदरबारमा रेखदेख गराउने कार्यका लागि रणवीर सिंह थापालाई खटाएका थिए। राजाका विशेष प्रिय पात्र बनेर आफ्नै दाजुको विरुद्धमा काम कुरो गर्न पनि उनी पछि हटेनन्। भीमसेन थापालाई पदमुक्त गराएर सो पद आफुले पाउने आशाले गर्दा उनी थापा विरोधी कयाकलापमा लागीरहे। उनको सो गतिविधि बारे सुराक पाई भीमसेन थापाले उनलाई सो स्थानबाट हटाएर राजदरबारभित्रको एक बङ्गलाबाट सो काम आफैले गर्न थाले। राजा रानीको साँठ-गाँठमा परेर रणवीर सिंह थापाले आफ्नो विरुद्ध श्रृजना गरेको दुई वर्ष सम्मको पारिवारिक षडयन्त्रलाई रोक्न उनले भतिजा माथवर सिंह थापालाई प्रयोग गरेका थिए।^{११}

(ख) रणजङ्ग पाँडे र War Party: आफ्नै घर परिवारको अतिरिक्त भीमसेन थापालाई अर्को कट्टर शत्रु रणजङ्ग पाँडेको पनि सामना गर्नु परेको थियो। दामोदर पाँडेका साहिला छोरा रणजङ्ग पाँडे यही समयमा अकस्मात देखा परी आफ्नो पुख्यौली मान सम्पत्ति फिर्ता पाउन वि.सं. १८९१ मा राजा समक्ष जाहेर गर्न पुगे। उनलाई राजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहकी जेठी महारानी साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी देवीको समर्थन प्राप्त थियो। ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको मृत्यु पछि राजाको नामको छाप यिनै महारानीले प्राप्त गरेकी हुँदा स्वतन्त्र रूपले उनी प्रशासनमा हस्तक्षेप गर्न चाहन्थिन्। तर भीमसेन थापा पदमा भएसम्म उनको सो इच्छा पूरा नहुने भएकाले थापा विरोधी पाँडेहरूलाई उनी आफ्नो बसमा राख्न चाहन्थिन्। दुबैको लक्ष भीमसेन थापालाई पदमुक्त गराउने रहेकाले महारानीलाई आफुतिर पार्न थापा विरोधी कयाकलापहरूलाई पाँडेहरूले अगाडि बढाउने गरे।^{१२} राजा माथि दबाव हाल्ने कार्यको प्रतिस्पर्धामा कान्छी महारानी लक्ष्मीदेवीलाई नीचा देखाउन उनका विरोधी पाँडे समूहलाई अँगाल्नु जेठी महारानीको लागि आवश्यक थियो। "भीमसेन थापाले राजवैद्य मार्फत विष

मिसिएको औषधी गीर्वाण युद्ध विक्रम शाहलाई सेवन गराएकाले उनको मृत्यु भएको थियो र हाल राजाले विरामी अवस्थामा औषधी सेवन गर्दा उनीबाट सतर्क रहनु पर्छ” भन्ने कुरा प्रचार गराएर भीमसेन थापालाई जनताको नजरबाट गिराई कान्छी महारानीको समूहलाई कमजोर बनाउने इरादा जेठी महारानीको थियो।^{१०} दरबारमा शक्ति हत्याउनका लागि केही संगठनहरूबीच प्रतिस्पर्धा चलिरहेकै बेला काला पाँडेहरू बीच आपसी संगठन मजबूत भै सकेको थियो। वि.सं. १८७२ को मध्यतिर गीर्वाण युद्धविक्रम शाहको लालमोहर पाएर काला पाँडेहरू नेपाल फर्की सकेका थिए। उक्त संगठनले दरबारमा आफ्नो पहुँच गराउने काम पनि गरी सकेकाले कम्पनी सरकारले त्यसलाई War Party को नाम दियो। उक्त Party मा जेठी महारानी र रणवीर सिंह थापालाई समेत शामिल गराउनमा रणजङ्ग पाँडे सफल भएका थिए।^{११}

ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीको मृत्यु पछि वि.सं. १८८९ को पजनीको बेला आशोचको बहाना गरी राजाले केही ढिलाई गरे। भीमसेन थापाले कान्छी महारानीलाई आफ्नो पक्षमा पारी पजनीको सबै कामकाज आफ्नै योजना अनुसार गरे पनि आफ्नो थमौतीमा भने राजाले ढिलाई गरे पछि उनी जिल्ल परेका थिए। पुष्कर शाहसँग माइतीको सम्बन्ध भएकाले जेठी महारानी उनलाई मुख्तियार बनाउन चाहन्थिन्। तर अधिकांश सैनिकहरू भीमसेन थापाकै अधीनमा रहेकाले उनलाई हटाउने हिम्मत राजामा नभएकाले भीमसेन थापाको थमौती भएको थियो।^{१२}

भीमसेन थापाको प्रतिष्ठामा आँच

अर्को वर्ष वि.सं. १८९० को पजनीताका थापा परिवारका अतिरिक्त अन्य भारादारहरूलाई पनि प्रशासनमा सरीक गराउने सुझाव राजाले भीमसेन थापालाई दिए। परिस्थिति अनुसार राजा र जेठी महारानीलाई प्रशासनमा संलग्न गराउँदा आफ्नो अधिकारमा उनले कटौती भएको महशुस गरे। पाँडेहरू अंग्रेज विरोधी भन्ने सिद्ध भइसकेकाले भीमसेन थापाले अंग्रेजहरूसँग निकट हुने नीतिको अवलम्बन गरी सन् १८३५ तिर ब्रिटिश राजदूतलाई आफ्नो हितैषी बनाउने प्रयास गरे। सोही वर्ष बेलायतका सम्राट विलियम चतुर्थका लागि सौगात र खलितापत्र लिएर माथवर सिंह थापाको नेतृत्वमा एक मिसन बेलायतको निमित्त रमाना भयो। विशेष सजधजका साथ गएको यो मिसन कलकत्ता पुगेपछि त्यहाँका कायम मुकायम गभर्नर जनरल चार्ल्स-मेट-काल्फले त्यसको भव्य स्वागत गरे। अवसरको फाइदा उठाई नेपालसँग गर्न भनिएको व्यापारिक सन्धिमा मतभिन्नता भएपछि र नेपालस्थित ब्रिटिश राजदूत मार्फत नभई सिधै बेलायतका सम्राटसँग सम्पर्क राख्ने उद्देश्य भएको नेपाली मिसनलाई उक्त राजदूतको इशारा पाएपछि भारतस्थित गभर्नर जनरलले स्वागतमा समेत कन्जुस्याई गरी, बेलायत जान रोक लगाए। सम्राटका निमित्त लगेका उपहारहरू र खलितापत्र समेत आफैले सम्राटलाई बुझाई दिने जिम्मा गभर्नर जनरलले लिएपछि तिनीहरू त्यहीँबाट नेपाल फर्कन बाध्य भए। सन् १८१४-१६ को नेपाल-अंग्रेज युद्धपछि नेपालले गुमाएकामध्ये केही क्षेत्र र सुविधा फिर्ता पाउने प्रयासमा यस मिसन मार्फत गर्ने

भनिएको योजनामा उनी असफल भएपछि कम्पनी सरकारलाई भित्र बनाई राख्ने भीमसेन थापाको अन्तिम प्रयास असफल भयो । “अंग्रेजसँगको मामलामा भीमसेन थापा मात्र सफल बन्न सक्छ” भन्ने नेपाली जनता, राजा र महारानी(जेठी) को विश्वासमा ठेस पुग्न गई उनी तिनीहरूका नजरबाट पनि गिर्न पुगे । यस सम्बन्धमा नेपालस्थित ब्रिटिश राजदूतले १४ नोभेम्बर १८३५ मा आफ्नो सरकारलाई लेखेको पत्रमा भीमसेन थापाको पार्टी कम्जोर भएको संकेत दिदै राजाले आफ्नो अधिकारको अभ्यास गर्न वृद्ध मन्त्री (भीमसेन थापा) लाई हटाउन सके अथवा उनको अन्त गराउन सके मात्र सम्भव हुनेछ... त्यस्तै बाह्य सम्बन्धको कुरा पनि भीमसेन थापामा मात्र निहित भएर राजामा सो अधिकार नभएकोमा राजदूतले आपत्ति जनाएको उल्लेख छ ।^{१३}

भीमसेन थापा विरोधी तत्वहरूको सामना गर्ने र आफ्नो प्रतिष्ठालाई कायमै राख्ने ६ वर्षे प्रयासमा लागेकै बेला (वि.सं. १८९४) सन् १८३७ मा काजी रणजङ्ग पाँडेले आफ्नो पुर्खाको सर्वश्व फिर्ता पाए । माथवर सिंह थापालाई बात लगाएर गोरखा धपाउनमा पनि उनी सफल भए । भीमसेन थापाले उनलाई गोरखामै हाकिम बनाई दिए पनि उनी काठमाडौँमा नभएका कारण उनको तैनाथी सैनिक शक्ति अन्य भारादारहरूका हातमा पर्न गयो । भीमसेन थापाका गतिविधिहरू दरबारबाट नियन्त्रित गरिए । वि.सं. १८९३ मार्ग ४ मा काजी रणजङ्ग पाँडेले भीमसेन थापा अंग्रेज समर्थक भएको भन्ने कुरा लगाएर चीनको समर्थन प्राप्त गर्न चीनको बादशाह समक्ष एक निजी पत्र पठाएका थिए । यसैको परिणामस्वरूप थापाहरूको एकाधिकारमा रहेको पेकिङ्ग मिसन पनि अन्य भारादारहरूका हातमा पर्न गएर उक्त मिसनका नेतामा पुष्कर शाह नियुक्त भए । सोही वर्ष (जुलाई, १८३७) मा भीमसेन थापाको फौजी तैनाथ उनको अधिकारबाट भिकेर राजाले आफ्नो हातमा लिए । यो भीमसेन थापाको पतनको पूर्व सूचना थियो । भीमसेन थापा आफ्नो निजी समस्या सुल्झाउने क्रममा गोरखा गएको बेला रणवीर सिंह थापाको आग्रहमा रणजङ्ग पाँडेले राजा-रानीबाट विशेष सुविधा र काजीको पद समेत हात गरी सकेकाले भीमसेन थापाले संभाल्दै आएको राजदरबारको रेखदेख गर्ने काम पनि रणजङ्ग पाँडेले गर्ने भएकाले आफ्ना दुःख दर्द राजा समक्ष पुर्‍याउने अवसर पनि भीमसेन थापाले गुमाए ।^{१४} कुनै राजनैतिक काण्डमा फँसाएर भीमसेन थापालाई पतन गराउने अवसरको खोजीमा रणजङ्ग पाँडे लागेका थिए ।

भीमसेन थापाको गिरफ्तारी

भीमसेन थापाको यसरी दिन दशा बिग्रेको समयमा श्रावण ११, १८९४ (२४ जुलाई, १८३७) मा राजाका जेठा छोरा राजकुमार देवेन्द्र विक्रम शाहको असामयिक निधन भयो । भीमसेन थापाले राजवैद्य मार्फत विष मिसिएको औषधी राजकुमारलाई सेवन गराएकोले उनकी मृत्यु भएको हो भनि हल्ला फैलाउन भीमसेन थापाका विरोधीहरूका लागि उपयुक्त मौका मिल्यो । उक्त हल्लालाई राजाले समेत सत्य ठानेर आफुद्वारा निर्माण गराएको ‘हनुमानदल’ पल्टन मार्फत भीमसेन थापालाई उनकै बागदरबारमा गिरफ्तार गरी त्यहीँ

कैद गरियो । राजकुमारको मृत्युको घटनापछि आशौच बार्न तत्काल जिल्ला-जिल्लामा पठाइएको पत्रमा "आर्यातिर्थमा जलयोग पायी मुक्त भयो" अथवा "दैवको ईच्छाले मर्न्यो" भन्ने साधारण कुरा परेको छ भने त्यसको सातदिन पछि जेठी महारानीका माइतीलाई खबर गर्न लेखेको पत्रमा "विष परेको औषधि दिँदा मर्न्यो" भन्ने ब्यहोरा परेको छ । त्यस्तै विदेशी राज्यमा रहेका नेपाली दूतहरूलाई लेखेको पत्रमा पनि भीमसेन थापा माथि राजवैद्य मार्फत राजकुमारलाई विष मिसिएको औषधी खुवाएकाले उनको मृत्यु भएको भन्ने आरोप लागेको छ । २९ जुलाई १८३७ मा ब्रिटिश राजदूत हड्सनले आफ्नो सरकारलाई भीमसेन थापाको गिरफ्तारी पछिको स्थिति बारे लेखेको पत्रमा भीमसेन थापा माथि सोही विष मुद्दा लागेकोले उनी गिरफ्तारीमा परेको र छानविनको क्रममा प्रमाण प्राप्त नभएकोले राजा अन्यौलमा परी बिना प्रमाण भीमसेन थापालाई दण्ड दिन चिन्तामा परेको कुराको उल्लेख छ । त्यस्तै उनको १८ सेप्टेम्बर १८३७ को अर्को पत्रमा यसरी व्यक्त गरेका छन्- "... some of his (Raja) Counsellors were of openly, or secretly, favourable to the Thapas, and had suggested to him their release, upon the ground that no sufficient proof had been adduced of the accessor of these persons to the poisoning. His Highness said that where recently others wished to spill the blood of the Thapas', he had resisted; that he had no wish or intention to touch their lives... even if there are no poisoning in the case, yet that the Thapas' had committed great wrong against his (Raja) person and authority..." (भीमसेन थापा गिरफ्तारीमै रहेका र उनका पक्षधरहरू प्रशस्त प्रमाणहरू प्राप्त नभएकोले उनको रिहाईको माग गरिरहेका छन् भने विरोधी पाँडेहरू उनको रगतका प्यासा बनेका छन् । राजाको भनाइमा थापाहरूको ज्यान लिने उनको कुनै इरादा छैन यदि विष नख्वाएको भए पनि उनका मानिस र अधिकारको विरुद्धमा उनीहरूले ठूलो गल्लि गरेका छन्)।^{१४}

भीमसेन थापाको रिहाई र सम्मान

भीमसेन थापा थुनुवामा पर्दा उनका नातेदारहरू जति (गोरा पाँडेहरू समेत) सवै थुनुवामा परी सर्वश्वहरण भएको थियो । भीमसेन थापालाई फाँसाउन रचेको षडयन्त्रको मुख्य रचनाकार रणजङ्ग पाँडे भएकाले राजाबाट उनी मन्त्री पदमा नियुक्त भएर उनका समर्थकहरूले पनि मुख्य मुख्य पदहरू पाए, जसमा कुनै विरोध कसैबाट भएको थिएन । रणजङ्ग पाँडेहरूको लागि भीमसेन थापा र उनका समर्थकहरू थुनुवामा परेको घडी तमासाको घडी बन्यो । रणजङ्ग पाँडेको तीन महिने मन्त्रीकाल पछि सत्तामा आएका रङ्गनाथ पण्डितले भीमसेन थापालाई न्याय दिलाउन राजामा विन्ति चढाएकाले छानविन गर्न गठित न्यायिक सभाले भीमसेन थापालाई दोषी सावित गर्ने प्रमाण नपाएकाले उनलाई जेल मुक्त गरियो । साथै उनका समर्थकहरू पनि जेल मुक्त भए । भीमसेन थापासमेत सबैले सर्वश्व फिर्ता पाए । भीमसेन थापाका विरोधीहरू शक्तिशाली भएकाले उनीहरूलाई कुनै दण्ड दिने

कुरामा न्यायकारहरू चूप नै रहे ।^{१६} यही कुरा भीमसेन थापाका लागि पछि दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण सावित हुन पुग्यो ।

रिहाई पछि भीमसेन थापाले सर्वश्व फिर्ता पाएको मात्र नभएर राजाबाट ठूलो सम्मान पनि प्राप्त गरेका थिए । अधिल्लो दिन राजाको अनुमतिले रघुनाथ पण्डितले भीमसेन थापासँग भेट गरे । त्यसपछि राजदरबारमा भीमसेन थापाको राजा र रानीहरूसँग लामो छलफल भएको थियो । त्यसको भोलीपल्ट साँझ (१७ डिसेम्बर मा) राजासँगको लामो अन्तरवार्ता पछि भीमसेन थापालाई सम्मानपूर्ण पोशाकमा घोडा बग्गीमा चढाई दरबारमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको थियो । दरबारबाट उनी आफ्नो घर बागदरबारतर्फ जाँदा ठूलो सैनिक जमात र आफन्तहरू समेत उनको पछि-पछि लागेका थिए । त्यसरी रिहाइको १२ दिन भित्रमा उनले अन्तरवार्ताबाट शाही समर्थन प्राप्त गर्न सके । त्यस्तै सम्मान उनका छोरा (धर्मपुत्र) शम्शेर जङ्ग थापा र भतिजा माथवर सिंह थापाले पनि सो समयमा प्राप्त गरेका थिए । उनीहरू भीमसेन थापा जस्तै सोभै आफ्नो घर नगई २,००० सेवामुक्त सैनिकहरूका साथ शहर परिक्रमा गरी सकेपछि मात्र फर्केका थिए । बाटो भरी उनीहरूले आफन्त र समर्थकहरूबाट सम्मान प्राप्त गरेका थिए । उक्त समयमा थापा परिवारले पाएको जन समर्थनको आधारमा उनीहरूले पुनः सत्ता प्राप्त गर्न सक्ने अनुमान पर्यवेक्षकहरूले गरेका थिए भन्ने ब्यहोरा-समेत नेपालस्थित तत्कालीन कायम मुकायम ब्रिटिश राजदूत Campbell ले आफ्नो सरकारलाई १८ डिसेम्बर १८३७ मा लेखेको पत्रमा परेको छ ।^{१७}

रिहाई पछि भीमसेन थापा काठमाडौँमा नै नबसी गोरखा बोर्लाङ्गकी पुरानो घरमा बस्न थाले । रणजङ्गको मुख्तियारी कालमा बिग्रेको नेपाल-अंग्रेज सम्बन्ध सुधार्न भीमसेन थापा नै चाहिन्छ भन्ने रङ्गनाथको धारणा अनुरूप दरबारबाट उनको प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत भएकाले लालमोहर लागेको पत्र साथ भीमसेन थापालाई ल्याउन भनि मानिस दौडाइयो । पुरानो रिस इबीलाई बिसै देशको सेवा गर्ने मौका पुनः पाएकाले भीमसेन थापा काठमाडौँ आए । तर पहिलेको आफ्नो बागदरबारमा नबसी उनी महाबौद्ध नजिकैको एउटा घरको छिँडीमा डेरागरी बसे । यो छिँडी अद्यावधि “भीमसेन छिँडी” को नामबाट चिनिन्छ । रङ्गनाथले नियम अनुसार उनलाई राजाकहाँ दर्शनभेट गराउन लगी उनले वार्षिक रु.३,०००/- भत्ता पाउने पनि गराए । राजाको अनुमति पाएर उनलाई आफ्नो सल्लाहकार बनाउन पनि रङ्गनाथ सफल भए ।^{१८} भीमसेन थापाको यस सफलतासँगै लुकेको दर्दनाक भविष्य बारे भने दुबैजना अनभिज्ञ थिए ।

रणजङ्ग पाँडेलाई राजाबाट आश्वासन

रणनाथसँग भीमसेन थापाको घनिष्टता बढ्नुका साथै दरबारमा उनको आवत-जावत समेत बढेपछि पाँडेहरू अठ्ठरोमा पर्न गए । रणजङ्ग पाँडेको तैनाथीमा रहेका पल्टनहरू भिकिँदा रणजङ्ग पाँडेले यस्को कारण भीमसेन थापा नै हो भन्ने सम्झे । अब रणजङ्ग काठमाडौँबाट अन्यत्र गई आफ्नो अवकाश प्राप्त जीवन बिताउन चाहन्थे । २०० सैनिकका साथ बनारस

जान पाउनका लागि उनी राजा मार्फत राजदूतबाट राहदानी प्राप्त गर्न चाहन्थे । बनारसको बहाना गरी लाहोर पुगेर त्यहाँको सैनिक सेवामा प्रवेश गर्ने रणजङ्गको भित्री इरादा राजाबाट लुकेको थिएन । रणजङ्गले काठमाडौं छोडेमा अथवा पाँडेहरूको संगठन नभएमा अन्य सङ्गठनहरू बलियो हुने भावी आशंकाको अनुमान गरी उनलाई मुलुकदेखि बाहिर जान रोक लगाए र आश्वासन दिँदै राजाले भने "... I desired that you remain near me as before, and trust to me for receiving due reward to your merits" (तिमी पहिले जस्तै मसँग रहेको म चाहन्छु र मलाई विश्वास गर कि विगत तीन वर्षदेखि तिमिले लगाएको गुनको बदलामा पुरस्कार पाउने छौं) हाललाई भने प्रधानमन्त्रीको जिकिरलाई परित्याग गर। राजाबाट रणजङ्ग पाँडेले यसरी आश्वासन पाएपछि दरबारमा विवादको स्थिति उत्पन्न भयो । थापाहरूका कट्टर विरोधी समूहको नेताको रूपमा रणजङ्ग पाँडे स्पष्ट देखा पर्न थालेपछि पद पाउने भन्ने थापाहरूको विश्वास र लोकप्रियतामा आँच पुग्न गयो भन्ने कुरा राजदूत Campbell ले २७ डिसेम्बर १८३७ मा प्रस्तुत गरेको रिपोर्टमा उल्लेख छ ।^{१९}

जेठी महारानीको पशुपति प्रस्थान

दरबारमा दुई महारानीहरूका बीच शक्तिको निमित्त झगडा चर्किदै गई सन् १८३८ को सुरुसम्ममा उग्र रूप धारण गर्‍यो । यस्तै निकास प्राप्त गर्न नसके पछि जेठी महारानी दरबार छोडेर पशुपतिमा गई बसिन् । कान्छी महारानी र उनका सल्लाहकार थापाहरूलाई दरबारबाट निकाल्ने र रणजङ्ग पाँडेलाले प्रधानमन्त्री बनाउने उनको माँग पूरा नभएसम्म उनी दरबारमा नफर्कने भनि अडिग भएर बसिन् । महारानीका थापा विरोधी कार्यकलापहरूबाट दरबारको कामकाजमा ठूलो असर परेको इत्यादि कुराको उल्लेख राजदूत Campbell ले आफ्नो सरकारलाई १६ फेब्रुअरी १८३० मा लेखेको पत्रमा परेको छ ।^{२०}

रङ्गनाथले राजिनामा दिएको खण्डमा कस्को नेतृत्वको सरकार बनाउने भन्ने कुराको निर्णय गर्न राजा असमर्थ थिए । जेठी महारानी रणजङ्ग पाँडेलाले शक्तिशाली मन्त्री बनाएर छोरालाई गद्दीमा राख्न चाहन्थिन् भने कान्छी महारानी भीमसेन थापालाई पुनः सत्तामा ल्याएर प्रभावशाली सरकारको स्थापना गरी आफ्नो स्वार्थ पूरा गर्न चाहन्थिन् भन्ने कुरा राजदूत हडसनले २२ अगष्ट १८३८ को पत्रमा यसरी व्यक्त गरेका छन्- "... The protection of her son's succession, and her vehemence however apparently indecent, is affirmed to be justified by the intrigues of Bhimsen with the Junior Ranees and by the crown issue of similar intrigues in the time of the Raja's grand father" (त्यसबेला भीमसेन थापाले कान्छी महारानीसँग मिलेर गरेको षडयन्त्रलाई कान्तवतीले आफ्नो छोराका राजगद्दीको निमित्त गरेको षडयन्त्रसँग तुलना गर्न सकिन्छ र त्यस आधारमा जेठी महारानीका कार्यलाई न्यायपूर्ण मान्न सकिन्छ) । यस पारिवारिक कचिङ्गलबाट मुक्त रहन गोदावरीमा दरबार लगाउन शाही पालहरू त्यसतर्फ लागिँए ।^{२१} रङ्गनाथ पछि गठित पुष्कर शाहको मन्त्रीमण्डलमा रणजङ्ग पाँडे पनि सामेल थिए

। तर यतिले जेठी महारानीको इच्छा पूरा भएन । त्यसैले पुरानै ढिपी राखी उनी पुनः दरबार छोडी पशुपति गइन् ।^{२२} यसपल्ट रणजङ्ग पाँडेलाई मुक्तियार बनाएपछि मात्र जेठी महारानीलाई दरबारमा फर्काउन राजा सफल भए । यसबाट जेठी महारानी माथि पाँडेहरूको निक्कै दबाव परेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

भीमसेन थापाको पुनः गिरफ्तारी र आत्महत्या

रणजङ्ग पाँडे पुनः सत्तामा आएपछि भीमसेन थापालाई पूर्णतः हटाउने अभियानमा लागेर पुरानै मुद्दा उल्टाई उनलाई उनकै निवासमा पुनः कैद गरे । यसपल्ट केही कित्ते कागजातहरू खडा गरी प्रमाणका रूपमा पेश गरियो । भीमसेन थापाका साथै काठमाडौँमा रहेका सबै थापा बन्धुहरूलाई समेत कैद गरी उनीहरूको सर्वश्व हरण पनि गरियो । कैदमा परेकाहरूको जात पतित गराइयो र “यिनका सात पुस्ता सम्मका परिवारलाई नोकरी दिइने छैन” भन्ने औपचारिक घोषणा पनि गरियो ।^{२३}

भीमसेन थापालाई अकस्मात पुनः गिरफ्तार गरी कुनै जाँचबुझ बिना मलेरिया लाग्ने उपत्यका बूमकोटमा पठाइयो । उनी माथि आरोप लगाउन गठन भएको भारादारी सभामा रणजङ्ग पाँडे उपस्थित थिएन । त्यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिएका तीन प्रमाणहरू मध्ये पहिलोमा, एकदेव वैद्यले भीमसेन थापाको इसारामा गीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम शाह र उनकी कान्छी महारानीलाई विष मिसिएको औषधी सेवन गराएकोले ती दुवैको शीघ्र मृत्यु भएको थियो । अर्को यातना खप्न नपरोस भनेर र उनलाई बनारसमा अवकास जीवन बिताउन अनुमति दिने आशामा उनले उक्त अपराध कबुल गरेका थिए । दोश्रो पत्र भीमसेन थापाका स्वर्गीय भाई बख्तावरसिंह थापाकी विधवाबाट प्राप्त भएको थियो । गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रम शाह विरामी छँदा उनलाई दिएको औषधिबाट भोलीपल्टै उनको निधन भएको र उक्त विषयमा बख्तावरसिंह थापाले भीमसेन थापासँग ठूलो स्वरमा पुछ्ताछ गरेको कुरा उनले सुनेकी थिइन भन्ने कुरा उक्त पत्रमा उल्लेख थियो । तेश्रो पत्र पाल्पाका गभर्नर रणवीर सिंह थापाद्वारा लेखिएको थियो । बालक राजाहरूको शासनकालमा भीमसेन थापाले एकभन्दा बढी व्यक्तिको ज्यान लिएकोले उनीबाट सतर्क रहनु पर्छ भन्ने सुझाव समेत उनले पत्रमा उल्लेख गरेका थिए । सबै प्रमाणहरू पढेर सुनाई सकेपछि भीमसेन थापालाई आफ्नो वचाउ बारेमा बोल्ने अवसर दिइयो । यसको प्रत्युत्तरमा उनले बोले "... The whole accusation was a plot of the senior Ranee and Ran Jung to take his life he was ready to yield that instant; that he wished to ask merely if justice was designed and, if so he demanded confrontation with his alleged accure or, who were all forthcoming, but for the papers, he declared them gross forgeries which he would not say a word in reply to ..." (उनी माथि लगाइएका सबै आरोपहरू मिथ्या भएका हुनाले यो ता जेठी महारानी र रणजङ्ग पाँडेको उनलाई मार्ने षडयन्त्रको परिणाम मात्र हो । यी प्रमाणहरू उनलाई पहिलोपल्ट नजरबन्दमा राख्दा प्रस्तुत गरिएका थिएनन् ।

यदि न्याय भन्ने कुरा कहिँ कतै छ भने ती प्रस्तुत प्रमाणहरूको जाँच गरियोस् । ती नक्कली प्रमाणहरूका बारेमा भने उनी केही बोल्न चाहँदैन । भीमसेन थापा माथि श्रद्धा विश्वास भएर पनि त्यहाँ उपस्थित भारादारहरू मध्ये कसैले उनको बचाउको बारेमा बोल्ने हिम्मत गरेनन् । असहाय अवस्थामा भीमसेन थापाले गुप्त रूपबाट ब्रिटिश राजदूतको मद्दतको आशा गरेको देखिन्छ । तर भीमसेन थापा माथि लगाइएका आरोप बारे दरबारबाट औपचारिक रूपले कुनै सूचना प्राप्त नभएकोले उनले भीमसेन थापालाई मद्दत गर्दा यसको नराम्रो असर उनलाई पछि भन्ने उनको धारणा थियो । भीमसेन थापा माथि लगाइएका आरोपहरू मिथ्या थिए भन्ने कुरा समेत राजदूतले २८ मे १८३९ मा आफ्नो सरकारलाई लेखेको पत्रबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । तीन महिनासम्म थुनामा राखेर जाली प्रमाणहरूका आधारमा आफुलाई दोषी सावित गर्न खोज्ने राजा माथि भीमसेन थापाको श्रद्धा घटेको देखिन्छ । विरोधीहरूकै कुरामा लागेका राजालाई उनले तीब्र स्वरमा भनेका थिए “यस्तै बुद्धिलियौ भने मानाले भरेर खोपामा राखिदिएको खाएर बस्नु पर्नेछ” । उनलाई दोषी सावित गर्न अर्को सबुत प्रमाण पेश गर्ने कुरा राजासँग गर्दा राजा अलमलमा पर्न गए । बाँकी कुरा भोलीको कचहरीमा हुनेछ भनी राजाले त्यस दिनको कामको टुङ्गो लगाए । तर भोलीपल्ट हुने सूर्योदयलाई नै रोक्ने प्रयासमा भीमसेन थापाका विपक्षीहरू लागेका थिए ।^{२४}

भीमसेन थापा कैदमा पर्दा बहादुर शाहलाई कैदमा यातना दिइए जस्तै दिइएको थियो । उक्त कुरा माथि विचार गर्दै बाबुराम आचार्यले “भीमसेन थापाले साँझ विहान खान त पाउँथे?” भनी प्रश्न गरेका छन् । अँध्यारो, चिसो छिँडीमा अपर्याप्त भोजनका साथ कैदमा राखिएका भीमसेन थापालाई अझ उनको मनस्थिति समेत विगान्ने अनेक मर्माहत पार्ने खबरहरू उनी समक्ष पुर्‍याउने बन्दोबस्त विपक्षीहरूले गरेका थिए । उनको उद्धार गर्न सक्ने सबै थापाबन्धुहरू कैदमा थिए । माथवर सिंह थापा यस घटनाभन्दा पूर्व नै काठमाडौँबाट मुक्त भई इष्ट इण्डिया कम्पनीको अधिनस्थ इलाका सिमलामा शरण लिएर बसेका थिए । रणवीर सिंह थापा पनि ज्यान जोगाउन जोगीको भेषमा बसेका थिए । भीमसेन थापाकी श्रीमतीलाई पनि कडा नजरबन्दीमा राखिएको थियो । इन्साफ पखेर बसेका भीमसेन थापा समक्ष “उनकी श्रीमतीलाई दिउँसै नाङ्गै शहर डुलाउने योजना छ र उक्त दृश्यलाई उनले घाँटीसम्म गुः मूतमा डुवेर हेर्नुपर्नेछ” भन्ने हल्ला ल्याई पुर्‍याइयो । राजाको चन्चल स्वभाव माथि विचार गर्दा यस्तो हुनु असम्भव पनि थिएन । राजाबाट न्याय पाउने आशा नदेखेर होला, उनमा रहेको विरक्तिपनाले सीमा पार गर्न खोज्यो । आफुसँग भएको खुकरीले आफ्नो गला रेटेर उनले प्राण त्याग गर्ने असफल प्रयास गरे । तर ठीकसँग रेट्न नपाएकाले नौ दिनसम्म छटपटिएर मात्र उनको प्राण गयो ।^{२५}

भीमसेन थापाले त्यसरी आत्महत्या गर्नु पर्ने कारण बारे वि.सं. १८९६ श्रावण शुदि ३, रोज २ को पत्रमा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । त्यस अनुसार “राजकुमार देवेन्द्र, गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रम शाह र उनकी रानी समेतलाई विष मिसिएको औषधी भीमसेन थापाको सल्लाहमा आफुले दिएको कुरामा राजवैद्य कायल भएकाले, सो कुरा प्रकाशमा आउन लाग्यो भनी कसैले थाहा नपाउने गरी हतियार मगाई आफैले आफ्नो गला काटी नौ दिन सम्म बाँची

मरेको" भन्ने स्पष्ट छ ।^{२६} भीमसेन थापाले आत्महत्या गर्ने प्रयास गरेकाले राजा रानी क्रुद्ध भएर रगताम्य लथपथ भएको उनको अर्धचेतन शरीरलाई त्यसै दिन विष्णुमतीको बगरमा फ्याँकन लगाइयो । नौ दिन सम्म छटपटाएर उनले त्यहीँ प्राण त्याग गरे । आत्महत्या गर्ने प्रयास गरेको अभियोगमा उनको दाँह संस्कार गर्न पनि दिइएन र स्याल कुकूरलाई लुछाउन भनि पालो पहरा राखिएको थियो । उनको शरीरलाई लावारिस अवस्थामा त्यहाँ, त्यसरी नै फ्याँकिएको थियो जसरी ३३ वर्ष पहिले रण बहादुर शाहलाई कैद गर्ने अभियोग लागेका र उनको हत्याकाण्डमा परेकाहरूका लास फ्याँकिएका थिए । तीन दशक व्यतित भएर पनि यो रोमाञ्चकारी इतिहास उनीमाथि दोहरियो ।^{२७} भीमसेन थापाको लासमाथि समेत यसरी फोहरी राजनीतिको खेल खेलेपछि मात्र उनका विरोधीहरूले प्रतिरोधको अग्निलाई शान्त पार्न सके । तर गन्हाउने यस लासको छिटा उनीहरूका शरीरमाथि पनि नराम्रोसँग पर्न सक्छ भन्ने विचार विरोधीहरूले गरेका थिएनन् होला ।

भीमसेन थापाको मृत्युबारे तत्काल राजाले आफ्ना मुन्सी मार्फत् राजदूतकहाँ खबर गर्न पठाए । जुलाई २९, मध्याह्न ४ बजे उनले भीमसेन थापाको मृत्युको खबर पाएकोमा आफ्नो सरकारलाई ३० जुलाई १८३९ मा दिएको खबर यस प्रकारको छ— "... waited on me to inform me of the demise at 4 O'clock P.M. of General Bhimsen in consequence of a wound inflicted by himself on his throat in a attempt to commit suicide a few days previously." (केही दिन पहिले आफैले गला रेटेर आत्महत्या गर्ने गरेको प्रयासको फलस्वरूप भीमसेन थापाको मृत्यु भयो ...) । भीमसेन थापा माथि लगाइएका आरोपहरू राजदूतले मुन्सीबाट सुनेपछि त्यसबारेमा केही प्रतिक्रिया जनाउन उनले संक्षेपमा भने कि विदेश मामूला सम्बन्धी मात्र उनको अधिकार क्षेत्रमा परेकोले, दरबारबाट औपचारिक रुपमा उनलाई खबर गरे पछि मात्र त्यसबारेमा उनले केही व्यक्त गर्न सक्ने हुन्छ ।^{२८}

भीमसेन थापाको आत्महत्या माथि टीका टिप्पणी

तत्कालीन राजनैतिक परिस्थिति बारे विचार गर्दा "भीमसेन थापाले आत्महत्या गरेको" भन्ने बारे शङ्का-उपशङ्का गर्न सकिन्छ । उनले आत्महत्या गर्नु परेको बारे केही अड्कलहरू पनि गरिएका छन् । यस सम्बन्धमा Landon को लेखाइमा- "कुनै जाँचपडताल बिना कैदमा राखिएका भीमसेन थापा माथि ज्यादै कडाई र पशुवत् व्यवहार गरिएकाले त्यसबाट आत्महत्या नै गर्ने प्रेरणा उनलाई प्राप्त हुन्छ ।"^{२९}

अर्को सूत्र अनुसार भीमसेन थापाको समयमा भारादारहरूलाई कैदी अवस्थामा पनि राष्ट्रिय चिन्ह सम्भरेर खुकुरी लिन अनुमति दिइएको हुन्थ्यो । सोही कारण पनि उनले गला रेट्ने अवसर पाएको हुनुपर्छ । त्यस्तै अपराधी करार गरिएका मानिसकी पत्नीलाई बेहुर्मत गरी सैनिकहरूका बीचमा नाङ्गो पारी भंडारा छोडी दिने चलन पनि सोही समयमा चलेकाले उनकी पत्नीलाई पनि भंडारा छोडी दिने कुरा उठेको हुन सक्छ । कारण १८४३ मा माथवरसिंह थापाले पाएको विषमुद्दाको जितापत्रमा "काला पाँडेहरूले लज्जा बेहुर्मतको भय

देखाई जनरल कमाण्डर-इन-चीफ भीमसेन थापाको देह त्याग गराए” भन्ने उल्लेख छ । तर सोही भयको कारणबाट मात्र पनि भीमसेन थापाले आत्महत्या गरेका थिएनन् । रणबहादुर शाहको स्वदेश फिर्ती पछि र उनको हत्याकाण्ड पछि चौतरिया र भारादारहरूप्रति तत्कालीन सरकारले गरेको निर्मम व्यवहारको सम्झना गरी राजा र रानी समेत रणजङ्ग पाँडेको बहकाउमा परिसकेकाले भीमसेन थापाले आत्महत्या गरेको धेरै सम्भावना हुन्छ । दामोदर पाँडेको काण्डमा उनी रणबहादुर शाहका सल्लाहकार भएका र दामोदर पाँडेको खान्गी समेत उनले पाएकाले पाँडेहरू उनका विरोधी हुने नै भए । तर न्याय गर्ने हो भने दामोदर पाँडेलाई मार्ने कार्यमा भीमसेन थापा सिधै जिम्मेदार थिएनन् । रणबहादुर शाह सर्वेसर्वा भएकोमा त्यसमाथि वि.सं. १८६० चैत्र २१ गते दामोदर पाँडेको स्थानमा मूलमन्त्री बन्ने देवान रणजीत पाँडे र उनको निर्णयलाई सदर गर्ने मन्त्री नायक लेखिएका चौतरिया र मूल चौतरियाहरू पनि थिए । ती सबैको नाम नलिइकन केवल भीमसेन थापा माथि मात्र दोष थोपार्नु र उनलाई पाँडेहरूले वापवैरी भन्ने गरेको कुरा उचित होइन ।^{३०} भीमसेन थापाले बिना कसुर सजाय पाएका थिए भन्ने कुरा ६ वर्षपछि माथवर सिंह थापाको पालामा पाँडेहरूले स्वीकार गरेका थिए ।^{३१}

भीमसेन थापाको हाडखोड

भीमसेन थापाको मृत्युपछि उनको टाउको राजदूत हड्सनले र हात तथा बंगारा चौतरिया फतेजंग शाहले चोरेर लगेका थिए भन्ने एउटा कथन रहेकोमा राणाकालमा आएर त्यसलाई केही बंग्याएर लेखिएको रूपमा पनि पाउन थालियो । भीमसेन थापाको टाउकोको बारेमा हड्सनको उल्लेख कतै नपाइएकोले र चौतरियासँग भएको बंगारा र हात पनि उनको घरमा खानतलासीको बेला भेट्टाउन नसकिएकाले सो कथन भूठो हो भन्ने आचार्यज्यूको ठोकुवा नै रहेको छ । उहाँका अनुसार राजदूतले चाहेको भए भीमसेन थापाको टाउको राजासँग मागेर पनि लिन सक्थे । पालो पहरा राखेको ठाउँबाट चोर्नलाई उनी अघोरी बाबा थिएनन् । भीमसेन थापाले प्राण त्याग गरेको ठाउँमा माथवरसिंह थापाले ६ वर्षपछि भीममुक्तेश्वर शिवालय बनाई दिए ।^{३२} हालसम्म उक्त शिवालयले भीमसेन थापाको हृदय विदारक आत्मघात र उनले पाएको अमानुषिक यातनाको सम्झना गराउँदै रहेको छ । यस सम्बन्धमा Landon लेख्दछन्- “उनको अवसान एशियाको इतिहासले प्रस्तुत गरेको सबैभन्दा दुःखद अवसान थियो ।^{३३}

मृत्युपछि भीमसेन थापाको महत्व भन्न बढ्न गएको कुरा राजदूत हड्सनले आफ्नो सरकारलाई उनको अवसान पछि लेखेको पत्रबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । पहिले भीमसेनका कट्टर दुष्मन बनेका राजदूतले उनको मरणोपरान्त ३० जुलाई १८३९ को पत्रमा यसरी लेखेर कदर गरे- “... He was indeed a man born to exercise dominion over his fellow mortals alike by the means of command and of persecution; nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times except Ranjit Singh who is, all things considered worthy to be compared with the late General Bhimsen

of Nipaul..." —(योग्यताको हिसाबले उनलाई पंजाब नरेश रणजीत सिंहसँग मात्र तुलनायोग्य भनिएको छ) ।^{१४} महारानीहरूको आपसी स्वार्थ, प्रतिस्पर्धा र राजाको अदूरदर्शिता र विवेकहीनताको अग्नमा नेपालका महान राजनीतिज्ञ तथा देशसेवक यसरी होमिए । खासगरी जेठी महारानीको शासनमा हस्तक्षेप गर्ने रहर, महारानीहरूका इच्छामाथि नियन्त्रण गर्न नसक्ने राजाको कमजोरी, पाँडेहरूको वापवैरी साधने पारिवारिक स्वार्थ, नेपाल माथि अंग्रेजहरूको उपनिवेशवादी चलाखी, आदि नै भीमसेन थापाको अवसान हुनुका मुख्य कारणहरू देखिन्छन् ।

पादटिप्पणी

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BOOK REVIEW

The Thakali: A Himalayan Ethnography. 1998. Michael Vinding. London: Serinda Publications, 470 pages with two appendices, glossary, bibliography and index. Price (\$?)

As the author himself notes, the Thakali are the most studied group in Nepal. They have been dealt with by both foreign and native scholars and even a number of Thakali have written accounts about themselves. The quest for the Thakali started as early as 1873. Since then, they have been the object of scholarly work by Japanese, French, English, Danish, German, Swiss and American researchers. Many M.A.s and at least four Ph.D. degrees (including that of the author himself) have been based on Thakali materials. More than 100 articles and four books have already been published on this group. That so many foreigners are moved to do research on Thakali subjects is itself an interesting question. My own view is that there is an overemphasis on this group by foreign researchers. The unavoidable effect is that other ethnic and caste groups within Nepal have been unfortunately ignored and this has implications for our understanding of the totality of the human and cultural diversity of our country.

Based on extensive research over a 25 year period (1972 through 1998), this long-awaited book by Michael Vinding, a Danish Ph.D. in anthropology is a fascinating cultural account of the Thakali. The primary fieldsite was Syang village but the author collected data for 121 Thakali households of the Thak Khola valley as a whole based on his own 1977 census. The present book, according to the author, "presents a comprehensive ethnography on the Thakali with particular reference to the Thak- Khola Valley of Mustang district" (p. 4). Without a doubt, this volume is a landmark of such research on the Thakali by foreign anthropologist.

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Unlike many of the contemporary studies coming from the west, where theory trumps more empirical concerns, Vinding draws heavily on the old descriptive ethnographic tradition to provide a detailed description of Thakali history, culture, and social organization. The topics are distributed among 15 chapters. A positive aspect of this kind of rich descriptive account is that plenty of materials will be on hand for current and future research regardless of the changing tides of theory. On the other hand, rich cultural materials by itself can be lacking in the kind of meaningful analyses that further our understanding of the human condition. In this review, my intention is to briefly discuss the book's strengths and weaknesses as a whole.

So that we end on a positive note, let me first get some of these weaknesses out of the way. I should add that some of these weaknesses are more generally found in books about Nepal by foreign scholars, all the more reason to point out examples here.

- i) Population. In Table 2, the author has given "Number of households in Thak Khola based on ethnicity", from the 1977 census which he administered himself (p. 16). It is an open question why, although Vinding visited the field several times since this initial count, he did not update such vital population data. He himself doubts the validity of the 1991 national census data for Mustang district. And since population growth or decline in any setting is one of the most important contributions to stability and change in society and community, it is regrettable that the dynamics of Thakali population are made invisible to us by this rather out-dated material.
- ii) Economy. Time and again Vinding asserts that agriculture is the main means of livelihood for the majority of Thakali people, yet he hardly gives his own figures for agricultural production in the area. Instead, he relies heavily on government statistics for agricultural production (pp. 134, 142) when there is reason to believe, in most of the cases, that these figures are grossly inaccurate. His economic categorization of Thakali households is also an over-generalized gloss based on informant's perceptual accounts of rich, middle, and poor (p. 126) instead of on his own survey which would give a more purely economic way of classifying households in this way. Furthermore, although Thakali have many sources of income beyond

agriculture, there is little information on how this income is shared or distributed among households. The unfortunate thing here is that the widespread Nepali myth of Thakali wealth or poverty gets little light cast upon it from the present study.

- iii) Identity. Chapter XV of the book looks overloaded to this reviewer. It is unable to explain to my satisfaction just who the Thakali are in the context of the changing Hindu and Buddhist cultures of Nepal. We are given information on the three endogamous groups within the Thakali: The Tamang Thakali (whose homeland is Thaksatsae), the Mawatan (the indigenous people of Marpha village), and the Yhulkasom Thakali (who originate from Thini, Syang and Cimang villages in Pacgaun). The text suggests that the Tamang Thakali are more Hinduized and politicized and the Yhulkasom Thakali the least. But the ignored issues are whether and how these three endogamous groups consider themselves as one within the changing ethnic situation of Nepal after 1990, how their identity may have been influenced by an external state construction, and how they themselves define a "real" Thakali identity in the quest to maintain a distinctiveness in Nepal's ethnic cauldron.
- iv) Research ethics. A note on the question of "human subjects" issues, (that is, protecting the privacy of research informants) is warranted. Unlike researchers within their own western settings, anthropologists working in Nepal have long been free to do whatever they like in the collection and publishing of their research products. A feature of this book (shared by many others based on Nepal work, I hasten to add) is the potential for doing harm to the very people being studied. Little is known about the implications of having private matters made public in Nepal. Because of the heightened concern for these matters in western countries, I can't help but notice that Vinding gives intimate details of people's lives and includes real names of peoples and places along with maps and photographs. To be sure, such specificity makes original and important contributions, but this intense exposure of material needs to be considered in light to the possible damage to individuals and to Thakali identity more generally.

- v) Finally, the occasional sweeping statement such as, "Nepal is a country of minorities and most members of the minority groups are fluent in the Nepali language" (p. 382) weaken this rich ethnography. Such terms as majority or minority are always dependent on the context of reference. When context is clear, this can help to make numerical and social power comparisons of one group and another within a locality, village, district, or the nation as a whole. The example here is the Thakali themselves who could be the majority group for Mustang District as a whole, and therefore have differential power, but be a minority for a wider region. The suggestion that minorities uniformly speak the Nepali language with fluency is also misleading if we are to take seriously the 1991 census finding that 50% of the people do not speak Nepali as their mother tongue. Understanding the Nepali language and speaking it fluently are quite separate issues.

Nevertheless, the weaknesses are few when we look at the book as a whole. There are many more strengths and I address a few here.

- i) The book provides an excellent account of the salt trade and the Thakali Subbas in historical perspective. One interesting element of this account has to do with the name of the Thakali Subbas, who had typical Nepali Hindu names from early on. This suggests that the Nepalization process among the Thakali started as early as 1868 (p. 79, 81), and this surely has implications for our understanding of the Nepali state and the current ethnic politics of the country. In addition, various chapters suggest that the Thakali follow that Hindu model of touchability and untouchability (pp. 25, 205, 374) and that marriage between Thakali women and Bhote men (who are considered lower in status than Thakali) are rare (p. 226). Such data as these, within the changing ethnic scenario since 1990, may not please some radical Thakali, but they clearly suggest that many Thakali adopted the larger models implied by Hinduization and Nepalization spontaneously. Sometimes, at least, society changes because people change themselves.
- ii) The Thakali seem to be the most mobile people in Nepal. Only 20% stay in their traditional homeland while the rest stay in the many business towns of

Nepal, including Kathmandu. This suggests that Thakali are not only the most enterprising and economically successful group outside their homeland, but also teaches potential lessons to planners concerned with how to alleviate poverty in Nepal. Of course, how much Nepali planners are interested in understanding the culture of groups such as the Thakali is another big research question.

- iii) Finally, Vinding raises interesting points that potentially refute many ideas of other anthropologists who have done research on the Thakali or other Tibeto-Burman groups. He has doubts, for example, about the strict truth of the frequently narrated success story of the Thakali by other anthropologists (p. 370). Many Thakali are not successful in their life. Some of them languish in jails at various places. The author's point that Thakali migration took place for better living rather than in response to lack of subsistence (p. 370) is a big reply to many classical demographers who think that "push factors" such as the lack of subsistence are the major causes of migration in the hill region of Nepal. Dhikur (a voluntary rotating saving and credit association among the Thakali) is not working well for many Thakali families (p. 30). Indeed, it has started functioning in a kind of reverse, making the rich richer within traditional village society. Again, the "impression management" so distinctive of the Thakali appears to operate at the individual level and not at the collective level (p. 381). Is this a suggestion that individual behaviors have less bearing on social change for the whole of a group, such as the Thakali, than it did in the past? Are collective identities no longer viable in this new context?

The inclusion of an extensive bibliography and an excellent glossary of Thakali words in different languages (Nepali, English, Tibetan, Thakali and Gurung) has enhanced the quality of this fine ethnography. Vinding provides the strong feel of a first hand and intimate familiarity with this group. Their reconstructions of Hindu and Buddhist (Tibetan) models are illustrated with wonderful photos and maps (but seen my note above on this!) that enables readers to understand the Thakali community more closely than before. This book should be required reading as a model of sound ethnographic field work for our M.A.

students in anthropology at Tribhuvan University. The book is equally useful to planners, administrators, and lay persons who are interested in learning more about the socio-economic conditions of the Nepal Himalaya.

– Dilli R. Dahal

BOOK REVIEW

Nepal: Missing Elements in the Development Thinking. 2000. Gunanidhi Sharma, Nav R. Kanel and Neelam Kumar Sharma, eds. Kathmandu: Nirala Publications. Pages 232. ISBN 81-85693-66-8.

An eminent economist of international repute while answering questions at a talk programme remarked that the economy of South Asian nations are fragile and have a narrow base. He added that the foundations of such economies were further compounded by the fact that the foundations also have deep, gaping unfathomable "holes" which make them all the more vulnerable.

"Economists" he said "can measure the area of these holes and come up with stop gap measures for a short period of time, which they have been doing, but unless these holes are filled and concretized, it would be improbable if not impossible for any economist worth the salt to delve deep into the fathomless void measure the volume and come up with worthwhile prescriptions needed for sustainable economic growth." The gentleman obviously was subtly referring to rampant corruption and the challenge it was posing to the already fragile economy of South Asian States.

The picture could not have been more apt especially in the Nepalese context, more so with the phenomenal rise in corruption after the restoration of the multiparty dispensation in the country. While the corruption issue has always occupied a centre stage in debates, talk programmes and seminars, corruption unchecked have all the while steadily eaten right into the very heart of the Nepalese economy.

It is probably with this reality in mind that Prof. Gunanidhi Sharma, a well known monetary economist in his own right and acclaimed to be the first to develop the monetary sector model, macro economic model (both for Nepal) and a link model Nepal vis-a-vis SAARC countries, decided to put together his experiences and observations of over a decade into book form. The present volume under review is a collection of Prof. Sharma's selected articles, some presented at seminars and some published in reputed national and international journals. The book in short is geared and written with the

view of the sorry state of the Nepalese economy and governmental efforts in trying to transform a mono-cultural economy into a diversified structure.

In the volume under discussion, Prof. Sharma goes at length in describing the Nepalese economy, points out the "gaping holes", attempts at diagnosing the sorry state of country's economic affairs and prescribes remedies to overcome traps and pitfalls. The whole idea behind the book is economic nationalism of sorts and focuses squarely on the "development thinking required for the realization of greater democracy accompanied by the sense of strong nationhood."

As the title of the book suggests, the missing elements in the development thinking, according to the author, are in matters of policy. Prof. Sharma categorically points out that in spite of the majority of the Nepali population squirming below the poverty line and living in rural areas, national policies and priorities have always bypassed them in the development planning. He vociferously points out that the biased planning and the developmental model adopted by the country today is principally because of the major say the Bretton Woods Institutions has in our policies. In order to substantiate the case in point Prof. Sharma in the second chapter of the volume entitled "Economic Development and the Question of Equality" points out that "...the subsistence rural economy of Nepal has become a breeding centre for poverty, unemployment, hunger, malnutrition, social discrimination, deprivation, environmental degradation and so on." (p.19)

In view of Nepal's landlocked position and in addition the 1950 Nepal India Treaty and the letters of exchange, the writer sees these as major impediments to Nepal's economic aspirations to stretch out beyond India to countries of the South Asian region and to the world at large. On top of that, the anti-poor policy adopted by successive government(s) of different colours and combinations have, according to him, added fuel to the proverbial fire. For example, he sees ... rebates to bigger investments, collateral based credit system and absence of protection to cottage and small industries that employ indigenous labour as urban biased policies. This, according to Prof. Sharma, has forced industries to leave rural resources either untouched, inefficiently used or non-monetized. The very same argument but on a wider scale and dimension also find place in other chapters of the volume. He forcefully brings home the point that in order to set the record straight, economic nationalism in matters of policy must prevail vis-a-vis Nepal-India economic

relations and the negligence of national priorities over the years need to be reversed at all costs.

The collection in the volume compiled as they are from different sources and written at different times cover a wide range of topics ranging from an appropriate economic model suitable for the country's needs; the link between politics and economics; foreign aid; economic aspect of Nepal's foreign policy; efforts for the satisfaction of basic needs, right down to the role of monetary policy in transforming Nepalese economy. The twenty-one chapters in the volume not only open up a host of relevant issues for discussion but also provide plenty of economic-food for thought.

But given the wide range of topics covered in the volume, they could have been neatly organized topic-wise no matter when the articles were published. For example, the chapters on monetary economics could be put together as could chapters on monetary policy under a different group. The book coming as it does from a monetary economist could have also discussed or answered questions related to current monetary issues that are today making the rounds. Maybe, as pointed out earlier, a chapter based on relevant questions explaining why the Nepali rupee has of late been continuously devalued against the American dollar or what could possibly be the consequences for Nepal should the peg with the Indian currency be removed or for that matter would Nepal be better off with alternative modalities like a free exchange rate system etc. could have added further weight to the volume.

The book as it stands is informative and should prove highly beneficial to both students of economics and also to decision and policy makers as well should they not turn the customary Nelson's eye on the volume. Or, for that matter, if it is not allowed to gather bureaucratic dust in some dingy room in the Singha Durbar. However, the impression that the book was unceremoniously hurried through the press cannot be overlooked. Though it will be a trifle unfair to judge the book entirely by its shockingly poor editing it cannot get away with it either. To put it bluntly, the errors/mistakes, grammatical or otherwise are far too numerous to enumerate and seriously mars the quality of the volume. Should the publishers think of a second edition to the volume, the point will need to be seriously mulled over. Why the names of the two editors with their respective bio-data were mentioned at all remain a mystery.

—Ananda P. Shrestha